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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes how acculturation and ethnic identity traits of first- and second-generation Mexican-American high school students in West Liberty, Iowa, correlate with their academic performance. The analysis tests the educational theories of educational anthropologists John Ogbu and Henry Trueba, to determine the extent to which these theories were applicable to the experience of high school students in West Liberty. This study hypothesized that Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory would be supported if second generation Mexican-American students performed less well academically than first generation students due to an acquired "oppositional cultural frame of reference." The study further hypothesized that Trueba's cultural-discontinuinty/cultural dissonance theory would be supported if the second-generation Mexican-American students displayed higher academic performance than first-generation students and did not display an "oppositional cultural frame of reference." Twenty-eight Mexican-American students were surveyed to determine their grade point averages, acculturation traits, and ethnic identity traits using Keefe and Padilla's "Chicano Ethnicity" questionnaire. The findings indicated that both first- and second-generation students were successful in this rural school setting. The study provides no evidence to support either Ogbu's "oppositional cultural frame of reference" toward schooling, or Trueba's "cultural dissonance" theory. These findings cannot be explained by either educational theory alone, and contradict many statistical reports about Mexican-American academic achievement. The study concludes that environmental factors, not cultural traits, may be far more significant in determining academic success than previously thought. (Author/TES)

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ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, ACCULTURATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY TRAITS OF FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION MEXICAN-AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN A RURAL IOWA TOWN

by

George Leland Iber

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Education
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 1992

Thesis supervisor: Associate Professor Scott F. McNabb

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes how acculturation and ethnic identity traits of first and second generation Mexican-American high school students in West Liberty, Iowa correlate with their academic performance, as measured by grade point averages (GPA). The findings then formed the basis for a discussion of the educational theories of John Ogbu and Henry Trueba. One of the desired outcomes of this research was to determine the extent to which the minority educational perspectives presented by educational anthropologists Ogbu and Trueba are applicable to the experience of high school students at West Liberty.

This study hypothesized that Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory would be supported if second generation Mexican-American students performed less well academically than first generation students due to an acquired "oppositional cultural frame of reference."

This study further hypothesized that Trueba's cultural-discontinuity theory would be supported if the second generation Mexican-American students displayed greater academic performance than first generation students and did not display an "oppositional cultural frame of reference."

Twenty-eight Mexican-American students were surveyed to determine their GPA, acculturation traits, and ethnic identity traits, using a modified version of Susan Keefe and Amado Padilla's "Chicano Ethnicity" questionnaire. Indepth interviews were also used as a follow up with three students.

Ogbu's typology is criticized by Trueba as resulting in stereotyping of minority students. Trueba's theory is criticized by Ogbu as overemphasizing the role that language development can play in the academic performance of minority students, and ignoring the effect of historical job stratification on the psychology of student motivation and achievement. Neither theory alone is sufficient to explain the findings of this study.

The findings indicated that both first and second generation students were successful in this rural school setting. Neither generation evidenced an oppositional frame of reference towards schooling. There were no dropouts at this school during the time of the research. These findings contradict many statistical reports about Mexican-American academic achievement. The study concludes that environmental factors, not cultural traits, may be far more significant factors in determining academic success than previously thought.

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DEDICATION

To my parents,
my family and friends,
who provided many hours of
technical assistance and emotional support.

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I would like to thank Professor Scott McNabb, who has been my advisor, counselor, mentor, and dissertation chair throughout my doctoral studies. He encouraged my research and challenged me to think critically through each stage of the process.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Background

Hispanics, a rapidly growing minority group in the United States, with a growth rate five times that of the non-Hispanic population, will constitute one-sixth of the nation's students by the year 2000 (NCLR 1990). Today, about one in twelve Americans is Hispanic. In spite of its size and historical presence in the United States - 90,000 Mexicans became United States citizens with the signing in 1848 of The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Acuña 1988) - this group, as a whole, is not achieving academic success within the present school system when compared with Anglos or Blacks, and long term trends are not encouraging.

Figures from the National Council of La Raza's publication Hispanic Education: A Statistical Portrait 1990 (NCLR 1990) show that among Hispanics between the ages of 18 and 24 only 55 percent have completed high school. This compares with a 75 percent completion rate for Blacks and an 82 percent rate for Whites. The figures also show that while 52.9 percent of the 18 to 19-year-old Hispanics who graduated from high school enter college, only 14.7 percent obtained their bachelor's degree. While this marks an increase in the total number of degrees received between 1978 and 1987, the percentage of degrees awarded in 1987 to all Hispanic groups was only 2.7 percent. This compares with Anglo students who received 84.9 percent of the bachelor's degrees.

While the figures for the Hispanic group are low there are distinct educational trends within the ethnic groups that comprise the Hispanic community. Mexican-Americans have the lowest level of educational attainment, and Cubans have the highest. As of 1989, for individuals aged 25 to 34, 83.8 percent of the Cuban-Americans completed 4 or more years of high school, while only 49.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans completed the same. The figure for Puerto Ricans stood at 75.9 percent, for Central and South American immigrants at 70.2 percent and "Other Hispanic" at 77 percent. The college completion rate followed the same pattern, with 21 percent of the Cuban-Americans completing 4 or more years of college, while only 6.1 percent of Mexican-Americans complete the same (NCLR 1990).

These are particularly significant figures in the light of the relative size of these groups. According to 1989 Census Bureau figures the Hispanic population consists of approximately 21.1 million people. This represents approximately 8.3 percent of the total United States population. By far, Mexican-Americans are the largest subdivision of the Hispanic group, containing 12.6 million people, or 62.8 percent of the total.

Studies analyzing the academic achievement of Mexican Americans have been done primarily in Texas and California, the two states with the highest number and percentage of Mexican Americans. According to Keefe and Padilla (1987), educational achievement by second-generation Mexican Americans is better than first-generation immigrants. Second-generation Mexican Americans reported a three fold increase over first generation respondents in the percentage of those who had some college. Similarly, the second-generation individuals reported a high school graduation rate two-and-a-half times that of the first generation. However, in the same sampling, third-generation respondents showed little difference from the second-generation (Keefe and Padilla 1987).

Comparisons between Hispanic and white non-Hispanic students show that Hispanic high school seniors generally receive lower grades than their non-Hispanic classmates (Durán 1983). Data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 show that only 34.9 percent of Hispanic students achieved overall grades of "B" or better, while 52.4 percent of whites were found in the same category. The National Educational Longitudinal Study of

1988 reports that 30.6 percent of Hispanic 8th graders report receiving grades in the bottom quartile, compared with 23.4% for Whites. As of 1987, Hispanics earned fewer high school credits in all academic subjects than Whites, while they were twice as likely to participate in remedial math and science courses (NCLR 1990).

In Iowa, Hispanic minority issues have recently come to the fore with indications that this state is experiencing one of the highest rates of growth of minority populations in the country. State demographic studies show that in 1990 there were approximately 30,000 people of Hispanic origin. By the year 2020 the Iowa State demographer predicts that there will be at least 113,000 people of Hispanic descent in the state. This increase will make the Hispanic group the largest minority within the state. If the total Iowa population remains constant, which appears likely, Hispanics will comprise almost 5 percent of the state's population by the year 2020.

Today, 23 percent of the school districts in this state have no minorities, and 95 percent of the total student body is Anglo. However, there are already exceptions to this pattern. In the future it will be the exceptional school district that does not have minority students. This will be especially evident in the industrially developing parts of the state, including areas of rural industrial development.

The town of West Liberty is one of the present exceptions. The total Mexican-American student population increased from approximately 65 students at the beginning of the 1989 school year to approximately 95 in 1990. The Superintendent believes that West Liberty may have one of the highest percentages of minority populations among Iowa schools, about 25 percent. The minority population is predominantly Mexican-American, but there are also Central-American, Vietnamese, and Laotian students. The reason for the influx of Hispanics and other minorities into the town is primarily economic.

In West Liberty, jobs provided at the Louis Rich Company turkey processing plant have attracted most of the new residents. In the nearby town of Columbus Junction, a meat processing operation run by IBP also provides employment for some of the town's residents. Sixteen miles to the west of West Liberty is Iowa City. It too provides factory jobs and other forms of employment for some minority individuals. Iowa City, the home of The University of Iowa, is viewed by students and parents alike as a possible gateway to a better life through education. Its real accessibility, however, remains uncertain. Life promises to be bettbr for immigrants to West Liberty, in part, because of the jobs provided. A map of the City of West Liberty, indicating schools and factory, is provided in Figure 2.

Perspectives on Culture

This study focuses on the relationship between aspects of acculturation, ethnic identity, and academic performance. Thus a preliminary discussion of culture is warranted.

Academic journals and publications today report on issues concerning cultural studies, cultural awareness, pluralism, ethnicity, feminine consciousness, ethnocentrism, and multi-cultural education. At the heart of these concepts is an assumed important and real phenomenon, human culture.

Spindler and Spindler (199C), both educational anthropologists, describe culture as a "process." Culture in this sense is more a verb than a noun. A static description of a process will inevitably exclude the dynamism which is so important a characteristic of the phenomenon. Culture is comprised of the "organized activities" one engages in to obtain possessions, recognition, power, and satisfaction (1987). Culture is what happens when people try to make sense of their lives and the lives of those around them. Cultural understandings make communication possible (Spindler and Spindler 1990).

Spindler and Spindler (1987, 1990) view education as "cultural transmission." Cultural transmission requires cultural learning. As educational anthropologists, their focus is on what they term the "calculated intervention" in the learning process. This activity is not just an essential feature of schools, but all institutions, including business, family, and church "intervene" in the learning process. For Spindler and Spindler (1987) what is most important and informative to understanding the American school scene are the "implicit, tacit, and hidden levels of culture." They are characterized as the "continuing dialogue between students and teachers that are hidden beneath the surface of behavior" (Spindler and Spindler 1987).

In their most recent work, The American Cultural Dialogue and its Transmission, (1990), they pose the question, "Are our schools so heavily culturally loaded with mainstream values that many ethnic groups and social classes find themselves in opposition to the culture promoted in them?" Their general reply is that culture is a process, a process that includes features of achievement and success, and their opposite, failure. Failure and success are not personally predetermined, rather they are products of the interaction between people, institutions, and cultural patterns. All three of these features can be found within the context of schooling. Why then do some students succeed while others fail?

Two divergent anthropological explanations for minority student academic success and failure have been proposed.

One camp, represented by Henry Trueba, an educational anthropologist, claims that academic failure is primarily the result of discontinuous interactions between teachers and students. He claims that if teachers and administrators in schools are brought to a greater understanding of the cultural background of the students, and teaching methods are modified to acknowledge different backgrounds, minority student failure and drop out rates would dramatically decrease (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1990). Further he states that macrosociological analysis that results in taxonomies of minority group responses to academic performance are unfounded and further negatively stereotype minority individuals (Trueba 1988a, 1988b, 1990).

The other camp, represented by John Ogbu, another educational anthropologist, claims that structural factors in the social and economic system that prohibit full assimilation into society lead to the establishment of classes of people who view schooling as an institution that does not work in their interest. A form of cultural resistance then develops towards schooling that may include academic failure or dropping out. This culture of resistance is justified through the incorporation of what Ogbu terms an alternative "folk theory of success" (Ogbu 1978, 1987a, 1987b, 1990; Fordam and Ogbu 1986).

Both camps agree that culture is central to understanding the success or failure of minorities in school, and that anthropological techniques of investigation are invaluable tools for the discovery of these cultural features.

The question of this thesis centers on a cultural issue. The survey instrument, in depth interviews, and interpretation all attempt to discern the degree to which certain aspects of Mexican-American culture, and the degree to which they are held, might indicate potential for academic success or failure for high school students, and which educational theory is best suited to explain the findings.

Explanatory Theories

The understanding of a group's perception of itself in relation to others in society is a complex issue and has been the focus of studies from a broad range of academic disciplines. Anthropologists, such as Clifford Geertz, have attempted to describe culture by describing the symbolic interaction of its members. Educational anthropologists (Ogbu 1978; Spindler 1974; McLaren 1986; Keefe and Padilla 1987; and Trueba 1979, 1987) have attempted to explain and understand the interaction of schooling and culture. In an interdisciplinary study by Susan Keefe and Amado Padilla (1987), an anthropologist and educational psychologist respectively, Mexican-American ethnic cultural knowledge and perceptions were defined and analyzed. The categories investigated by Keefe and Padilla correspond closely to the traditional concepts of acculturation and ethnic identity.

The history of marginal employment of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in this country is well documented (Acuña 1988). Ogbu (1986) has proposed that much of the difficulty in schooling experienced by certain minority groups is tied to their perceptions of past and future occupational opportunities. It is not enough that a minority group may become acculturated, their identities must not be threatened by participation in the dominant culture's institutions. Full acculturation does not mean full assimilation has been granted, or is necessarily desired.

In the United States, African-Americans, Native-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans are defined by Ogbu (1978) to be "caste-like minorities" who, because of a history of discrimination and exploitation, including the "forced" incorporation into the American capitalist economic and cultural system, have not been able to develop the status mobility systems or folk theories of success that include academic efforts. He postulates that some minorities, as a group, have developed a perspective that equates achievement in schools as "acting white" (Fordham & Ogbu 1986). "Acting white," implies a betrayal of one's personal and group identity. The term "collective oppositional identity," as used by Ogbu, refers to one possible characteristic of a group identity.

Trueba challenges the claims made by Ogbu. Trueba (1987) asserts that Mexican-Americans are assimilating as rapidly as past immigrant groups, and that their apparent failure within the school system is based on issues of "cultural discontinuity" within the schools that do not include perceptions of limited future occupational opportunities brought about by broader structural inequalities in society. Trueba's theory essentially proposes that children of minorities perform less well in school because schooling promotes middle-class majority cultural values and skills. Both the style of presentation, including language, turn-taking, teacher/student interaction, and the content of instruction are postulated to be in conflict with the minority individual's learning style, expectations, and needs. Culture, assumed to be central to the process of acculturation, must include developing a positive understanding of one's position in society and how to successfully operate within various social institutions, including schools. From Trueba's point of view, issues of group identity are not considered to play a major role in the academic success or failure of Mexican American or other minority groups.

Based on studies by Padilla (1980), Keefe and Padilla (1987) have postulated that within a pluralistic society, acculturation and ethnic identity are separate processes. Indeed, they assert that pluralism may foster ethnic-group identities. As they attempted to compare the cultural traits held by a Mexican-Americans, they found that some traits were common across generations while others were dropped and some new ones were added. The contrast, however, between White cultural traits and Mexican cultural traits remained striking.

Comprising their measure of "Chicano Ethnicity" are two broad categories which they term Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty. Five factors comprise the Cultural Awareness category: Respondent's Language Preference, Respondent's Cultural Heritage, Parents' Cultural Heritage, Spouse's Cultural Heritage, and Cultural Identification. Two factors comprise Ethnic Loyalty: Ethnic Pride and Affiliation, and Perceived Discrimination. An eighth factor, Ethnic Social Orientation, they found to be independent of the two broad categories, but was more closely associated with Ethnic Loyalty than Cultural Awareness.

Cultural Awareness is a term used to describe an individual's knowledge of objective cultural traits, such as the language and history of a country of origin. Ethnic

Loyalty, by definition refers to a preference for certain ethnic group characteristics, it is something which individuals "create" concerning their identity.

For the purposes of this study the categories developed by Keefe and Padilla of Language Preference, Respondent's Cultural Heritage, Parents' Cultural Heritage, and Cultural Identification will be termed acculturation traits. The categories of Ethic Social Orientation, Ethnic Pride, and Perceived Discrimination will be termed ethnic identity traits. This follows the scheme developed by Keefe and Padilla (1987).

Purpose of the Study

This study is designed to analyze how acculturation and ethnic identity traits of first and second generation Mexican-American students in West Liberty, Iowa correlate with their academic performance. The relationship among the variables of generation, acculturation and ethnic identity traits, and academic performance, as measured by GPA, is studied. These findings then form the basis for a discussion of the educational theories of Ogbu and Trueba. It is hoped that this study will enable educators to better understand the educational development of Mexican-American students.

Acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores are analyzed along with students' GPA to determine what significant relationships may exist. The analysis, along with interviews of individual students, enables a discussion to be made of the factors that might contribute to school success or failure. To determine the extent to which the minority educational perspectives presented by Trueba and Ogbu are applicable to the experience of the high school students at West Liberty is one of the desired outcomes of this research.

Based upon Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory, this study hypothesizes that second generation Mexican-American high school students will perform less well academically than first generation students. Trueba states that the second generation should perform better than the first due to their greater levels of acculturation.

This study also hypothesizes that, as developed by Ogbu, second generation students will acquire an "oppositional cultural frame of reference" which justifies poorer academic performance due to school's nonapplicability to future job market perceptions. Trueba claims that Mexican-Americans have no difficulty switching from the roles required to perform successfully in an Anglo culture to those required by their ethnic group orientation, thus one will not find an "oppositional frame of reference."

In order to address these hypotheses and develop research questions it was necessary to establish a relationship between the instrument that measured acculturation and ethnic identity traits and the positions taken by the two educational theorists.

Ogbu and Trueba agree that acculturation is an ongoing process. Both would agree that the acculturation traits of "Language Preference," "Respondents Cultural Heritage," and "Parents Cultural Heritage" should reveal a trend towards a loss of Mexican cultural knowledge for second generation students. The loss of native cultural traits has traditionally implied a corresponding gain of majority cultural traits. If acculturation were solely a matter of loosing native cultural knowledge one could assume that, over time, new immigrants would be woven into the fabric of the mainstream culture, yet this has not happened for many minority groups. Keefe and Padilla (1987) found that the acculturation process is very complex.

Ethnic identity traits may be maintained in spite of the near complete acculturation of an individual (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Keefe and Padilla 1987). Long term residence in this country does not guarantee assimilation. The lack of opportunity for assimilation may lead to groups of individuals to look towards themselves for support and a sense of identity.

Fordam and Ogbu (1987) claim that the perception that students may be "acting white" threatens their identity.

Richard Rodriguez (1981), a Mexican-American scholar and writer, claims that the success he experienced in school was made possible because he accepted the change that schooling was producing in his identity. For him, the promises that school offered were perceived to be worth the changes he had to undergo, for others the perceived changes may not be considered worth the effort.

For the purposes of this study, the presence of higher ethnic identity trait scores in second generation students will indicate the tendency to incorporate a "culture of resistance" into their identity. It follows from Trueba's contention that Mexican-Americans easily move from the White ethnic sphere of life to the Mexican-American ethnic sphere, that second generation Mexican-Americans will have lower ethnic identity trait scores than first generation students. Conversely, Ogbu's thesis that second generation students' react to castelike discrimination by forming alternate identities leads to the position that second generation students will have higher ethnic identity scores than first generation students. In depth interviews are also used to more fully explore students' motivations for attending school and willingness to participate in mainstream culture.

Finally, the academic performance of second generation students is postulated by Trueba to be higher than first generation students. Ogbu considers it likely that first generation students will outperform the second generation because the second has developed identity maintaining strategies that resist successful schooling. Table 1 illustrates the above relationships.

Table 1. The Expected Relationships of Acculturation Traits, Ethnic Identity Traits, and Academic Performance, for Both Generations, by Theorist

Catagories of Research	Hypothetical Expectations		
		First Generation	Second Generation
Acculturation Traits			
Language Preference	Trueba(T)	Base	Lower
	Ogbu (O)	Base	Lower
Respondents' Cultural Heritage	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Lower
Parents' Cultural Heritage	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Lower
Cultural Identification	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Lower
Ethnic Identity Traits			
Ethnic Social Orientation	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Higher
Ethnic Pride	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Higher
Perceived Discrimination	T	Base	Lower
	O	Base	Higher
Mainstream Interests			
Mainstream Interests	T	Base	Higher
	O	Base	Lower
Academic Performance			
Grade Point Average	T	Base	Higher
	O	Base	Lower

Base = mean score for variables of first generation

These relationships will be discussed in Chapter IV. The above table can be summarized with the following two research hypotheses:

1. Cultural-discontinuity theory, as espoused by Trueba, will be supported if the findings indicate that second generation Mexican-American students have: (1) lower acculturation trait scores, (2) lower ethnic identity trait scores, (3) indicate a higher willingness to participate in mainstream acculturation, and (4) have higher academic achievement than first generation students.

2. Cultural-ecological theory, as espoused by Ogbu, will be supported if the findings indicate that second generation Mexican-American students have: (1) lower acculturation trait scores, (2) higher ethnic identity trait scores, (3) indicate a resistance to mainstream acculturation, and (4) have lower academic performance than first generation students.

Limitations of the Study

The current study uses both a survey instrument and participant/observation methods to gather the information necessary to argue the degree of applicability of cultural discontiruity theory and/or cultural-ecological theory in explaining the academic performance of the high school students in West Liberty, Iowa. No study of this type has been done in West Liberty, nor have the "Chicano Ethnicity" scales developed by Keefe and Padilla been applied to individuals of this age group. Further, this study is placed in a public school in a rural and small town environment.

Conclusions based upon this sample need to be weighed against certain aspects of the setting. This study was conducted at a high school located in a rural Iowa town. Iowa ranks in the top 10 percent of the country for the quality of its publicly funded schools. The rural setting of the town, and its small size, may provide an environment with fewer distractions for student age populations. The town's closeness to The University of Iowa may also influence students' perceptions of academic and career possibilities. A study done of this type in an urban setting, or in another school system, could yield significantly different results.

Another consideration of critical importance concerns the economic development of the town. The town experiences a steady demand for labor in the Louis Rich Co. turkey processing plant. Additional work is provided in nearby towns such as Iowa City. While the work is "blue collar" and potentially dangerous, it is steady. There appears to be little interethnic tension at the present time. Competition for jobs does exist, but apparently not between ethnic groups. (A caveat should be added however. Another minority group, consisting of people from Southeast Asia, are also moving into the area, and what effect this will have on interethnic competition is unknown.) With both parents' earning a wage, and part-time work available for students, attitudes of despair, so often reported to accompany unemployment, are not pervasive. The institution of school is seen as a viable method to get ahead. A study of this type conducted in a region of chronic unemployment will likely yield significantly different results.

Another limitation of the study concerns the sample population size. Twenty-eight high school students agreed to participate in the study. While this was eighty-five percent of the total Mexican-American high school student population, the ability to generalize based upon such a small number is limited. Certain statistical conclusions are valid only with larger populations.

An additional limitation concerns the use of the particular survey instrument. The instrument used to measure certain cultural traits was developed by Padilla (1980) to study multidimensional aspects of acculturation. Individual responses to the survey questions may overlook important features of individual personality, family background, or setting not covered in the questionnaire. Additionally, the instrument was not designed to test educational theory, as is being done in this dissertation.

Finally, the research was conducted over a short period of time, eight months. Longitudinal studies that track student development after graduation or through their entire secondary school attendance would be more insightful, particularly in the cases of successful new immigrant students.

Definition of Terms

The key terms used throughout the dissertation are referenced and defined below.

Acculturation: Acculturation is the loss of cultural traits and acceptance of new cultural traits (Keefe & Padilla 1987). The new "cultural traits" could include psychological characteristic that lead to a different world view, or they may involve adopting different outward habits of clothing, food, or behaviors.

Within various cross-cultural literature, the definition of acculturation developed by Redfield et al. (1936) appears to be accepted as a fundamental interpretation of acculturation:

> (2) a phenomenon which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (p. 149).

It is a process, generally conceived as the process of becoming more like the dominant majority culture.

Assimilation: Assimilation is the social, economic, and political integration of an ethnic minority group into mainstream society (Keefe & Padilla 1987). It is important to note that acculturation may take place without assimilation. Minorities may adopt the language, religion, and basic values of the majority culture but still not be allowed the integration implied by the above definition.

Chicano: Chicano is a term used by many people of Mexican descent to label themselves. It includes connotations carried by the labels Mexican-American and American of Mexican descent, but it emphasizes an identity that has roots in Mexico, a culture of both Indian and Spanish heritage. The term Chicano can not be interchanged with Latino or Hispanic. The term Latino includes all people of Latin American descent, while Hispanic includes Spaniards and implies a Spanish cultural background.

Culture: Culture is a process. It is the organized activities one engages in to obtain possessions, recognition, power, satisfaction or other socially approved goals (Spindler 1987, 1990).

Cultural awareness: Cultural awareness is a term used by Keefe and Padilla (1987) to describe an individual's knowledge of cultural traits, such as language, history, and cultural heroes.

Ethnic loyalty: Ethnic loyalty is the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another. The traits and qualities comprising ethnic loyalty are a mental construct, a symbolic realty it is something which individuals "create" concerning their identity (Keefe and Padilla 1987).

Mexican/Mexican-American: In this study, the students preferred to be identified as Mexican. The term Chicano, to them, implied being born in the United States, and implied a status that made one better or different that a person born in Mexico. For the students, the term "Chicano" had an elitist edge, and the students preferred not to use it. Due to this finding the term Mexican is used when discussing a person who is politically and socially associated with Mexico. Mexican-American is used when referring to individuals of Mexican ancestry who are currently socially associated with the United States.

Minority: The minority classification scheme involving castelike, immigrant, and functional minorities, as developed by John Ogbu (1990), has distinct perimeters. The histories and ethnic orientations of the groups that compose the following groupings are unique.

Castelike or involuntary:. Three major features distinguish castelike minorities from other minority groups. First, they have been incorporated into the dominant culture involuntarily. Second, they face economic and political discrimination as a group. Third, they perceive collective institutional discrimination as more than temporary and they formulate their reactions to the discrimination in a collective manner.

Functional or autonomous minorities are minorities in a numerical sense, such as the Mormons, who are not generally economically or socially subordinated through stratification.

Immigrant or voluntary: Immigrant minorities are those who have moved into the society voluntarily for the purpose of enhancing their economic and political well-being.

The Current Study

The current study uses a modified version of Keefe and Padilla's (1987) Chicano Ethnicity survey instrument. The factors originally developed by Keefe and Padilla are, for the purposes of this study, classified into two categories termed acculturation traits and ethnic identity traits. For the purpose of this study, relationships between the acculturation traits and ethnic identity traits and the theories of minority academic performance, as espoused by educational anthropologists Ogbu and Trueba, have been developed.

The dissertation will proceed, in Chapter II, with a discussion of Trueba's "Cultural-Discontinuity" theory and

Ogbu's "Cultural-Ecocological" theory of minority academic performance. Chapter II also includes a discussion of acculturation models.

Chapter III, the methodology chapter, describes this type of research methodology as using ethnographic techniques. It presents a background on the student population, pictures of the school, an explanation of the survey instrument, and the data collection techniques. Finally, it includes a discussion of the dynamics of the research experience.

Chapter IV presents the findings in five sections. The first section presents the major findings of the study. The second section presents the academic performance of the students as measured by grade point average (GPA). Section three presents the data collected from the acculturation and ethnic identity traits survey. Section four presents the correlations for academic performance and the acculturation and ethnic identity traits. Section five provides information gathered from secondary in-depth interviews.

Chapter V discusses the two theories of minority academic performance in view of those findings, and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The major portion of this chapter will discuss the two major theoretical perspectives that are used to interpret the research findings of Mexican-American student performance at West Liberty High School. The first, "Cultural-Discontinuity Theory," is espoused by Henry Trueba. The second, "Cultural-Ecological Theory," has been developed most thoroughly by John Ogbu. Critiques and studies relevant to both theories are included. Further, this section will present a discussion of acculturation models, and the relationship between Amado Padilla's acculturation model developed in Chicano Ethnicity and the theoretical perspectives discussed here.

Theoretical Perspectives

Two divergent explanations of minority student academic success or failure are proposed. One camp, represented by Trueba (1987, 1988, 1989, 1990), claims that school failure is the result of meaningless culturally based interaction between teachers and students. The inappropriate interaction is based upon language exchange which can range from meaningless to irrelevant. He claims that if students and teachers are brought to a greater understanding of the other's culture, meaningful interaction would ensue, and failure and drop out rates would decrease.

The other camp, typified by Ogbu (1978, 1982, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1090) claims that structural factors in the social and economic system that prohibit full participation into the society lead to classes of people who view schooling as an institution that does not work in their interest. A form of cultural resistance then develops towards schooling that may include failure and dropping out. This culture of resistance is justified through the incorporation of what Ogbu terms an alternative "folk theory of success."

Both camps agree that culture is central to understanding the success or failure of minorities in school, and that anthropological techniques of investigation are invaluable tools for the discovery of these cultural features.

Cultural Discontinuity Theory

Trueba's cultural discontinuity theory proposes that children of minorities perform less well in school because schooling promotes middle-class majority culture values and skills. Both the style of presentation, including language, turn-taking, and teacher/student interaction; and the content of instruction, are postulated to be in conflict with the minority individual's learning style, expectations, and needs. Culture is assumed to be central to the question of acculturation, understanding one's position in society, and success in operating within social institutions, including schools.

In an article, "Mainstream and Minority Cultures: A Chicano Perspective," Trueba (1990:123) claims that,

> Chicanos see no conflict between their behavior as members of mainstream society in their day-to-day professional careers, and their ethically 'marked' behavior as Chicanos linking their existence profoundly and permanently in the Chicano community through intra-culturally prescribed interaction with other Chicanos.

It is important to note that a "mainstream" person is defined not from an ethnic or historical point of view, but rather as one who exhibits certain cultural features. A mainstream individual is fluent in English, has internalized traditional American values, participates meaningfully in American social institutions, and consciously accepts mainstream affiliation as a part of his or her personal identity.

Trueba (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1990) claims that Chicanos, as a group, are achieving and acculturating at rates similar to previous immigrant groups. He states that middle class Mexican immigrants quickly integrate themselves into mainstream American institutions and places of responsibility, whereas immigrants from rural sections of

Mexico go through a longer period of transition. The apparently permanent underclass of Mexican-Americans in this country is due to a constant influx of new rural immigrants.

Trueba (1987, 1988), and the Spindlers agree on the role that interaction plays in cognitive development. Using Vygotsky's (1978) theory of higher order cognitive development, Trueba points out that all higher order development is intimately tied to the ability to use and understand symbol systems. Vygotsky's theory requires an active role on the part of the learner either within his own mental framework or in relationship to the outside environment. Failure, from this perspective, is a cultural failure. One's ability to communicate effectively, for instance, is directly tied to the opportunity that an individual has had to effectively interact. According to the Vygotskian system, one begins the interaction process by understanding the reference point of the learner, and developing appropriate interaction. Learning takes place in the social sphere as well as the cognitive sphere. Language acts as the mediator between an individual's social reality and his or her internal reality. A lack of cognitive development is thus linked to a lack of social development.

Failure for Trueba is not caused by socioeconomic factors that lead to a culture of resistance. Instead, a lack of academic success can be tied to a lack of meaningful and culturally appropriate relationships between the learner and the values espoused within the school system (Trueba 1988a, 1988b). It is his belief that the process of cultural misalignment can be addressed at any stage of the learner's life, but that it is particularly important early in the child's learning career. Trueba's research led him to conclude that, "the most crucial mechanism in reversing the underachievement trend toward achievement motivation and self-confidence was the establishment of dyadic relationships with adults..." (1988b:213). In other words, educators should train teachers to be sensitive to different cultural learning styles and other salient cultural issues, and develop the cognitive skills of the students in a way relevant to their lives. The development of communication skills, according to Trueba (1989) is the essential link between the learner and the teacher for the establishment of developmentally appropriate learning. Since language is a cultural artifact, it follows that failure belongs to the realm of culture. Failure, for Trueba, is created by culturally incongruent exchanges. Failure can become success if new cultural patterns are employed (Trueba, 1989).

Trueba's (1988) criticism of theories such as those espoused by Ogbu, is both methodological and theoretical. Trueba (1988a, p.276) claims,

> The typology of minority groups as autonomous, immigrant, or castelike is unfounded and highly stereotypic, mostly because it is built on imputed behavior and presumed psychological responses of certain members of ethnic groups, or on statistical macrosocial samples. In addition, this categorization is faulty because it is not supported by enough empirical evidence and is based on reasoning contaminated by neo-Marxist and psychoanalytic biases.

Trueba finds the position taken by cultural-ecological researchers that vast numbers of immigrant Mexican-Americans have a "castelike" psychology, impossible to document. He claims that attributing psychological features to a group based upon large bodies of statistical figures ignores the psychology of those who have successfully assimilated. Further it creates a stereotyping of minorities that does not allow for individual responses to the environment. Trueba considers the neo-Marxist approach to preclude meaningful research due to its reductionist and overly deterministic position (1988a, 1989).

Many researchers have used the theoretical perspectives espoused by Trueba and Ogbu as a way of understanding and interpreting their own findings. In many cases researchers find that their research may support or be supported by a portion of each theory. The following section discusses the research by numerous educational anthropologists. The research conducted by Erickson (1987), D'Amato (1987), Delgado-Gaitan (1987), McCollum (1989), Pieke (1991), and Tomlinson (1991) tend to endorse the importance of the interactive classroom dynamics discussed by Trueba.

Erickson (1987) argues that while Ogbu's theory has much to commend it, it is weak in two areas. First, he claims that if it is taken literally it can become a narrow economic determinist argument. As a deterministic perspective it recognizes no agency for individual achievement. Erickson notes that such a viewpoint, when applied to education, implies that neither teachers nor students can do anything educationally that may make a positive difference in the outcome of the students.

The second area of weakness he cites is that the causal relationships asserted by Ogbu can not be demonstrated directly. According to Erickson, Ogbu's arguments have a weak empirical basis. Erickson suggests that perhaps minority students would show greater achievement in a more culturally sensitive environment.

Erickson (1987), also criticizes those that tenaciously advocate the "communication process explanation" of minority school success. While noting that the logic behind reducing the miscues between teacher and student does have merit and is empirically supported by such studies as Au and Mason (1981), Mehan (1987), and Erickson (1982), it does not explain the success of the "catholic school effect." In those schools, and in others like them, he notes that teachers and classroom environments are consciously trying not to emulate the interaction patterns found in the students' home and community environments, yet minority students succeed.

Another critic, D'Amato (1987), notes that not all castelike minority children struggle with the system. Citing Au and Mason's (1981) research with Hawaiian students, D'Amato notes that the same students in one class "behaved" like good students, while in another they "made a shambles." D'Amato thinks Ogbu's theory ignores household and friendship values and networks.

Delgado-Gaitan (1987, 1987a,) has examined a number of factors in the home cultural environment of Mexican-American children that she claims differentiate it from the usual classroom cultures of the United States. Using an ethnographic case study methodology, she found that in the typical home environment the parents encourage children to assist one another to complete tasks and chores. The older sibling often is given the authority to assign parts of the tasks to younger brothers or sisters. Usually the parent will be minimally involved and there may be considerable negotiation between the child and parent (1987). The school these children attend differs dramatically in style. The language of instruction is in English, and the teacher "set herself up as the sole authority by controlling time, concept, and by discouraging children from discussing the task"(1987). Delgado-Gaitan and Segura (1989) found a relationship between student success and parental involvement, and in the case of Mexican-Americans the mother of the family was more often than not "responsible" for educational matters. Thus in their study more female students, whose mothers were involved in school affairs, attained higher levels of educational success than did males.

McCollum (1989), studied "turn-allocation" procedures in two classes; one in Chicago and another in Puerto Rico. In the Puerto Rican classroom the classroom discourse resembled more everyday conversational patterns found in the home. "Invitations to reply" were more often opened than not. The children's comments were usually acknowledged positively as meaningful to the topic. She also found that the Puerto Rican children initiated conversation with the teacher more than four times the number of student initiations in the Chicago classroom. The Puerto Rican students initiated dialogues 38% of the time versus 9% in Chicago (McCollum 1989). Turn-allocation is only one small feature of the total set of classroom activities, but it may uniquely symbolize social realities of authority and power relationships. Anglo-American teachers not familiar with Puerto Rican or Mexican-American social interaction and expectations could wrongly evaluate student motivations and academic ability.

Research by Pieke (1991), that focused on Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, posses some further challenges to Ogbu's model. Noting that Ogbu uses the Chinese as an example of a successful immigrant minority, Pieke argues that the single concept of a "folk theory of success" is not universally valid. The Dutch Chinese do seem to do well in school, but there are also many dropouts. These dropouts, according to Pieke, are equally influenced by the pro-education attitude of the Chinese community as are those who stay in school. Dropping out, he suggests, may be motivated by a cultural logic which places a higher value on supporting the family than on individual achievement in school.

Tomlinson's (1991), cross-cultural study found that academic achievement by West-Indians in England was more closely associated with the school attended than with any specific ethnic characteristic. She concludes that schools may be using the social and ethnic background of students as an excuse for low attainment, rather than trying to improve conditions and performance. Tomlinson's findings echo Erickson's argument that a narrow interpretation of either the communication theory or the stratification theory may result in a deterministic and defeatist attitude by educators.

Cultural Ecological Theory

Ogbu (1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1990) has developed a considerable body of research of minority educational underachievement. Ogbu's central contribution to the debate is his introduction of the concept of the "castelike" position of certain minorities. Using a macrosocial analysis of society, Ogbu finds a distinct correlation between the class status of specific minority groups and their educational attainment (Ogbu 1978). This follows considerable research by Bowles (1971), Bowles and Gintis (1972), Bernstein (1973), and Bourdieu (1973) that indicate strong relationships between class status and success in education.

For Ogbu, castelike minorities in the United States include Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and native Hawaiians. A castelike minority is distinguished from "immigrant" and "functional" minorities by three essential features (Ogbu 1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1987, 1990). First, they have been incorporated into the dominant culture in an involuntary manner. Second, they face economic and political discrimination. Third, they perceive collective institutional discrimination as more than temporary and they formulate their reactions to the discrimination in a collective manner. This contrasts with immigrant minorities who have moved into the society voluntarily for the purpose of enhancing their economic and political well-being. Functional or "autonomous" minorities are minorities in the numerical sense. Examples in this country would include Jews or Mormons. These groups, while culturally differentiated, are generally not socially or economically subordinated.

Ogbu justifies the inclusion of Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans into castelike minority status from both an historical and current social political perspective. Briefly, he makes the following arguments. Blacks were brought to this continent beginning more than 400 years ago. Their occupational experience has largely been relegated to a laboring status which has ranged from agricultural and house slave to industrial urban worker. Indians were forcibly removed from the land they inhabited and confined eventually to reservations. Their numerical and cultural decline was viewed as "the will of God" in accordance with a manifest destiny of the white civilization. Chicanos were conquered in the Mexican-American War and then relegated to a subordinate status (Acuña 1988). That status has extended to new arrivals of Mexican ancestry. Puerto Rico was annexed after the Spanish

American War and has acted as a labor reserve for northern industrial cities such as New York in more recent times.

According to Ogbu (1982),

> ... a subordinate group under colonial, caste, or racial stratification may be prohibited through legal or extra legal mechanisms from behaving in certain ways or denied access to privileges, rewards, or positions considered as prerogatives of the dominant group.

Under these circumstances the minority group develops mechanisms, including alternate behaviors such as speech, and value identification, which are in opposition to white cultural paradigms. Thus, to be successful in school, for these minority groups, involves the added factor of "acting white" with which individual members of the minority group must contend. This pattern is not just one of "White" versus other minority groups. The pattern is global. Mayan Indians in Central America, and Incan and Amazonian groups in South America experience similar frustrations and similar outcomes in their respective regions as they are schooled in Spanish and Portuguese (Richards 1987).

These findings are reflected by such researchers as Willis (1981) and McLaren (1986). Willis talks of a "counter-school culture" in England that appears to reflect the values and attitudes of the blue collar working class job environment that the students will be joining. The "earoles," the more studious types, are viewed as "other" and probably will go on to advanced training and managerial positions. McLaren's Portuguese immigrant students in Canada describe "guys who liked to work" as "wrist guys," "the faries, fags." Research on the hidden curriculum by Bowles and Gintis (1972), Apple (1983), and Anyon (1980) also emphasize the connection between school performance and likely job placement. The cultural-ecological model contrasts with perspectives of poor minority performance which are based on models of cultural deprivation, cultural conflict, institutional deficiency, and biological defect (Ogbu 1978).

Cultural deprivation theory argues that minority children fail in school because they are deficient in some cognitive or linguistic domain because the home environment does not teach the same skills that middle-class children learn. One approach to remedy this is found in programs such as Head Start. Cultural discontinuity theory proposes that different cultures stress different cognitive skills, such as cooperative learning, which are not rewarded in the public school system. Again to remedy the problem one must either make teachers more culturally sensitive or teach students "school culture." The institutional deficiency camp claims that failure is due to schools being organized and funded along lines which reinforce the ethnic status quo. Thus in Texas a school in a Mexican-American barrio receives $356 per child versus $492 in a wealthy Anglo neighborhood in spite of the fact that the poorer neighborhood paid a higher percentage of property tax per dollar value of property than did the wealthy neighborhood (Acuña 1988). There is also a minority of race researchers who maintain a biological determinism that purports to have evidence of genetically different (inferior) patterns of cognitive ability (Jensen 1973).

While some insight into minority problems in education may be gained from each theory, with the probable exception of the biological perspective, the root issue, according to Ogbu, lies in the persistence of the American caste system of job ceilings and the reactions of ethnic groups to this pervasive phenomenon. Educational programs such as Head Start and Bilingual Education are good in themselves for a number of reasons, but they can also function as a public method to deflect criticism from greater economic and racial inequalities within the society as a whole.

Ogbu presents numerous cross cultural studies to illustrate his theory. Why, he asks, do the Buraku outcasts in Japan persist in school failure, but are as successful as other Japanese Americans in the United States? Why do immigrant Polynesian workers from outside New Zealand fare better in school than the native minority, the Maoris? In one paper, "Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies," (Ogbu 1983) he compares the Chinese American experience with the Black American experience in terms of a "status-mobility" system. The status mobility system essentially acknowledges the effects of a job ceiling on minority educational attainment. His data was originally compiled from the Stockton, California school district files and from historical records.

According to Ogbu (1983), all immigrant minorities experience some degree of economic stratification, but in spite of this some minorities are successful in school. The case of Chinese Americans is illustrative. By 1880 approximately 106,000 Chinese were in the United States. In 1882 the Congress passed the Chinese exclusion law which restricted the influx of new Chinese. Between 1944 and 1965 immigration was selective and required that 50 percent of all entrees be highly skilled and have an occupation deemed essential to the United States. While Ogbu presents no figures for the early years, he says that generally speaking, until WW II the Chinese occupied menial jobs in construction and domestic services. During WW II the Chinese became American allies, and Americans developed a folk image of Chinese as "heroic fighters" and "tragic victims." As a result of the war, employers began to hire Chinese professionals. From 1940 to 1970 the proportion of Chinese professionals has risen from 2.9 percent to 26 percent of all Chinese workers. In addition, a new myth of

Asian competence in school has changed teacher and school expectations.

Conventional explanations that try to explain the success in schooling in terms of family values and a respect for schooling fail to correlate with high degrees of illiteracy in China, and teaching styles that emphasize classic material as opposed to scientific methods. For Ogbu (1983), the success of the Chinese is "rooted in the immigrants' perceptions of their status and objectives in the United States and the resulting responses they made to American education."

Ogbu (1983) claims that the main objective of the Chinese immigrant, even in the 1800's, was economic achievement, with many Chinese planning only a temporary stay in this country. Chinese also see educational achievement in the United States as a means of achieving self-advancement back in China. This is a link to the success that visiting students have in this country or abroad. Ogbu points out that at the University of California at Berkeley in 1976, 73.6 percent of the Chinese male students and 51.13 percent of the Chinese female students were enrolled in the three fields of engineering, physical, and biological sciences. The reasons for this, according to a survey at the university, were, in rank order, "to make money, to get a better job... because it is difficult to find menial jobs, and because other avenues for advancement (in the United States) are closed to Asians." Ogbu concludes that "situational factors" appear to have influenced their perceptions and efforts to do well in school. Perceptions are a crucial factor (Ogbu 1983).

According to Ogbu (1983) the Chinese, do not share the same historical or social dilemmas that castelike minorities face. They were not forced into this culture, nor are they allocated to menial jobs. Yet they too are following the "path of least resistance" in terms of job advancement and excelling in the hard sciences.

In contrast, the involuntary minorities of Mexican-Americans, Indians, and Black Americans have encountered the historical reality of a job ceiling. Even recent affirmative action laws have not created a large or stable middle-class for these ethnic groups. These minorities have for generations been denied rewards for educational achievement that are given to Whites; employment opportunities, high wage, and professional advancement. Ogbu suggests that such discriminatory treatment has adverse effects on motivation. Doing well in school becomes viewed as "acting white" (Obgu 1986, 1987).

In a research report titled "Black Students' School Success: Coping with the 'Burden of 'Acting White''," (Fordham and Ogbu 1986) the researchers use a case study method that asks talented high school students why they fail to achieve academically. Ogbu moves beyond his earlier more limited "cultural-ecological" explanations to examine what the authors describe as two additional factors which distinguish castelike minorities from White Americans and other types of minorities. The two factors are labeled "oppositional collective" or "social identity", and "oppositional cultural frame of reference."

The oppositional collective identity is based upon the realization by the group that no matter how well a few individuals excel, the dominant group will still exclude them from full assimilation. The oppositional identity evolves due to the perception that their oppressed treatment within mainstream culture is permanent (Fordham and Ogbu 1986), (Ogbu 1986, 1987, 1990). Castelike minorities recognize that they belong to a "perminant" subordinate group. They do not have a "homeland" with which to compare their present fortunes. Their reference criteria is that of White Americans, and against this background, the prejudice seems permanent and institutionalized (Ogbu 1990).

The "oppositional frame of reference" involves identity maintaining devices that preserve distinctions between minorities and White culture. The *oppositional* frame is developed by the minority group, and sets certain group expectations that are in contrast to the majority white cultural values. These expectations can include speech, dress, events, and symbols. According to Ogbu (1986, 1990), individuals within the minority group may apply these identities and references selectively, but the targets for application are those areas which have traditionally been the purview of whites; schooling, which has been established, operated, and whose measure of success is gauged by white standards, is one of the target areas.

Both the oppositional social identity and the oppositional cultural frame of reference influence the minorities' school performance. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) found that minorities equate the standard curriculum and requirements of schooling as a part of White culture. To be successful within the institution a minority student must confront conflicting identities. If they "act white," their peers, and their own inner identity, may tell them they are not a part of the group. Since group solidarity is part of their social identity, schooling becomes consciously and/or unconsciously perceived as a subtractive process (1986). For the minority student facing a closed opportunity structure upon completion of school, and a potential loss of personal and group identity, the "costs" of schooling may not be perceived as in their interests. Thus they may oppose and resist schooling, leading to poor performance and high dropout rates.

The research by Ogbu, and others supporting this view, has various implications, the most important being that job ceiling barriers and other social and institutional discrimination practices must end if school success is expected by a minority group as a whole. Secondarily, obstacles within minority communities need to be acknowledged that manifest themselves in oppositional perceptions and strategies of schooling (Ogbu, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1990).

Other research that includes a dimension of the cultural-ecological model is found in Bowles and Gintis (1976), Anyon (1980), Willis (1981), McLaren (1986), Foley (1990), Suarez-Orozco (1987), Richards (1987), and McKee (1989). As mentioned in the above section, most researchers do not exclude entirely all the features of one or the other theory. The next part of the review discusses research which emphasizes the cultural-ecological perspective as a viable explanation in the understanding of minority school success and failure.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) propose that schools in capitalist economies are designed to produce workers for a stratified job market. Both the regular curriculum and the "hidden curriculum" of schools develop within the students the skills and attitudes appropriate for certain positions in the economy. Middle and upper class students are educated to eventually occupy higher social and economic positions while lower socioeconomic students are trained in inferior schools for inferior job placements (Bowles and Gintis 1976).

Anyon (1980) investigated elementary schools in different socioeconomic areas of a city. She documented the interactions between students and teachers in a fifth grade classroom setting. In the lower socioeconomic neighborhood the classes were teacher directed, discipline was authoritarian, and the students were rewarded for following the teacher's instructions. In the middle class school the students were treated more cordially by the teacher, given some choice of action, and were academically rewarded for finding the "right" answer. The upper class school treated the students with a respect approximating adult peers. The academic curriculum emphasized creativity, problem solving, and conceptualization. Anyon concludes that the hidden curriculum of school work "is a tacit preparation for relating to the process of production in a particular way" (1980). Expected social outcomes were clearly a part of each school's curriculum. She suggests that the connection between the workplace and the school be further investigated.

Willis (1981) describes a class consciousness among students that divides them into two distinct groups. The "working class lads" copy and recreate cultural forms of resistance that tend to emulate the factory jobs that their fathers occupy, and towards which they perceive themselves to be destined. In contrast to the lads are the "earoles." Typically the children of middle class families, the "earoles" are successful in school. They will in all likelihood aspire to managerial jobs; their school is viewed as relevant to future employment (Willis 1981).

Foley (1990) shares with Willis and Ogbu a class analysis of minority school performance, but suggests that resistance to the hegemony of a capitalist racial order may take the form of successfully utilizing "situational speech performances that enact class identities." Foley argues that class differences in communication style help explain school success and failure. He claims that Willis and Ogbu are missing some of these trends.

Foley (1990) argues that Willis' exemplary work Learning to Labor does not really show the "lads" to be a class culture ideologically. Foley argues that what Willis' analysis merely describes typical gender traits of all males, regardless of class. Foley (1990) views the works of Habermas, Goffman, and Mead as providing the basis for viewing class cultures as the "Historic Speech Traditions of Status Groups." His perspective ties individual speech patterns to large historical speech communities that have a complex cultural tradition. The work of Bernstein (1976) demonstrates an "expanded" versus a "restricted code" of communication style. For Foley, class cultures are "situational speech performances that enact class identities." Foley (1990) claims that in his research the key element in determining school success and failure, and later social mobility, is to view the way ethnic youths use the various styles of social class speech.

McLaren's 1986 work, Schooling As a Ritual Performance, approached class divisions within a private Catholic school in Canada with a unique application of Turner's theory of ritual behavior. The Portuguese immigrants' children who attended this school are, according to McLaren, learning how to function within a capitalist society by adopting the ritual behaviors expected of them. From the perspective of ritual performance student behavior, and misbehavior, take on another dimension. Reminiscent of Ogbu's alternative folk theory of success, resistance becomes a crude but effective enactment of cultural dissidence; it siphons off the power of the dominant ideology and myths from the state (McLaren 1986).

Suarez-Orozco (1987) found evidence to support Ogbu's taxonomy with her study of recent Central American immigrant students. Not having a direct experience of job discrimination in this country, and recently fleeing a homeland environment of war and poverty, these Hispanic students exhibit characteristics of Ogbu's "immigrant" category of minorities. According to Suarez-Orozco, they desire to "become somebody." They believe, "para llegar a ser alguien acá lo más importante es estudiar;" to become somebody here the most important thing is to study. This notion is shared by recent immigrants from Mexico as well (Suarez-Orozco 1987).

Richards (1987) argues that the Mayan Indians of Guatemala are a socially subordinated population that exist in a castelike sociopolitical structure. One of the stated purposes of the national school system in Guatemala is to "integrate individual citizens into the nation-state." Since Spanish is the only official language in Guatemala, though half the population is Mayan and speaks several different dialects of a Mayan language, a major focus of Guatemalan schooling is teaching Spanish.

Richards found, however, that in the community he studied only five percent could be considered bilingual. These individuals usually held non-traditional jobs. Tzojobal, the Mayan dialect of the region, is used by all community members as a means of ethnic identification and as a means to acquire resources in the community. Spanish is viewed as a status language that is learned to "defend oneself" and as a possible means to better employment (Richards 1987).

The Mayans in Richards' study view schooling with mistrust. Only three children have ever completed a full six years of primary schooling in the sixty years that schooling has existed in the community. There are few tangible rewards associated with schooling. As Richards (1987:130) quotes one parent's lament,

> Before we had our corn fields, our hoes, and our cane houses. Now we have schooling, and we send our children there year after year, and we still have our corn fields, our hoes, and our cane houses. So what's the use.

Richards finally argues that while many cultural discontinuities exist within the classroom, only by viewing these within the context of castelike subordination can the school failure be fully comprehended (1987).

Similar in some respects to Richards' study is one done by McKee (1989) in Laredo, Texas. McKee studied student and family attitudes towards education in a Texas border town. She discovered that in spite of the poverty of the area education was considered very important. Like the rationals given to Richards by the Mayans, education was viewed as important as a possible requirement for a better job, and "puede defendarse," to defend oneself. McKee found that many high school graduates were unemployed in the town, nevertheless the residents of Larado support education, if for no other reason than its utility for outward migration (McKee 1989).

Erickson (1987) sees a possible synthesis between the two perspectives of cultural discontinuity and cultural-ecology through a culturally responsive pedagogy. Assuming that neither the schools nor culture is a static entity, but a ground for struggle and contention, (Apple and Weis 1983; Apple 1986) what is most important to Erickson is that the school process, including teachers, texts, and social context be viewed as legitimate by all people involved. This "politics of legitimacy" can be handled in various ways including a pedagogy that is able to reduce miscommunication between all individuals involved in the educational process.

According to Apple, schools need not find themselves in the position of lagging behind, and supporting the caste categories created by external economic influences. Schools need to recognize the strength of the collective oppositional cultural reference within which the students may be operating, and how important it may be to adolescents seeking peer support. As Apple and Weis (1986) have emphasized, schools are cultural as well as economic institutions. The implication of this is that schools can be sites of alternative and/or oppositional cultural practices (Apple and Weis 1986). The schools and community can create a new "folklore" for its children which includes recognition of academically oriented students, and thus help break the cycle of low professional occupational attainment by caste minorities. To place too much of the blame outside of the school might limit the reforms possible within the school.

The following section describes briefly various acculturation models, discusses the multidimentional model in depth, and provides a further explanation of the link between Padilla's multidimentional model of acculturation, and the cultural-ecological theory of Ogbu and the cultural-discontinuity theory of Trueba.

Acculturation Models
And Educational Paradigms

As discussed above (Erickson 1987; Trueba 1990), Ogbu's theory is empirically weak. Ogbu has no instrument or method of empirical verification. The use of Padilla's instrument is an attempt to provide empirical evidence to support or refute his theory. Within the model of multidimensional acculturation developed by Padilla lie the potential elements necessary to investigate an oppositional ethnic identity. Additionally the Padilla survey investigates acculturation traits, including language use, which are critical to the validity of Trueba's cultural-discontinuity theory of minority educational achievement.

Trueba (1987) views Padilla as one of the researchers who are trying to "reconcile the cultural-ecological approach with the context-specific approach." Keefe and Padilla (1987) state their concern for an interdisciplinary approach of ethnicity that will contribute to a "better understanding of the presence, extant and context of ethnicity among Mexican Americans."

According to Keefe and Padilla (1987), acculturation involves the loss of cultural traits and the acceptance of new cultural traits. This is a distinct process from assimilation which, according to Keefe and Padilla, involves the social, economic, and political integration of an ethnic minority into mainstream society. Minorities may acculturate without assimilation. The lack of assimilation however, creates an environmental dynamic which may cause the minority member to develop a variety of counterculture traits, as discussed previously. This section discusses the multidimentional model of acculturation used by Padilla and its relationship to the research objectives of this dissertation.

The original "single continuum model" of acculturation conceptualized a scale that moves from unacculturated, to bicultural, to acculturated. This model seem to not take into account the multitude of possible cultural features a person may possess. It is also has a built in assumption that a person may be totally "unacculturated," or that there is an absolute norm we can call "acculturated." These assumptions, while convenient, belie the commonality between all cultures and the ever fluctuating aspects of cultural attributes, such as language.

Another model of acculturation is called the "two-culture" matrix model. Here the native culture and the new culture are each treated as a continuum. When configured in a matrix the model provides four basic categories of acculturation in reference to either the new or the native culture. One could be classified as either unacculturated, marginal, bicultural, or acculturated in terms of either the new or the native cultures.

The multidimentional model proposes that traits from the new culture may be added selectively without necessarily losing traits from the original culture. In addition there can be selective loss or gain of traits in such a way that individuals may be truly bicultural, but not necessarily adept in both cultures. In considering a multidimentional model one looks for the presence or absence of particular traits, but these are not placed upon a continuum as in the single continuum model.

An individual can exchange a traditional trait for a new cultural trait and yet maintain many traditional traits and a sense of native ethnic identity. Keefe and Padilla

(1987) found the multidimensional model to be most useful for describing group differences among Mexican Americans in several Southern California communities. The process of acculturation in a pluralistic society leads not to the monocultural assimilationist concept contained in the metaphor of the "melting pot." As Banks (1990) articulates, after at least one hundred years of assimilationist rhetoric and policy, the nation's institutions still practice exclusion. According to Banks, the particularistic culture of people of color in this country is a result of their efforts to survive their exclusion from the mainstream society.

The multidimensional instrument developed by Padilla was chosen for this research project because it appears to be the most thorough instrument available. It investigates acculturation traits and ethnic identity traits in a way that make the findings relevant to the educational issues of this thesis. Padilla (1980) conceptualized the multidimensional model of assimilation as having two principal features. He labeled these factors Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty, which for the purpose of this study, are being called acculturation traits and ethnic identity traits respectively. The acculturation traits include an individual's knowledge of traditional or native cultural features. Some of these features include proficiency in language use, knowledge of political and cultural figures, lifestyle, and identification with the country of origin. The ethnic identity traits include current group affiliation, social orientation, ethnic pride, and perceived discrimination. The features of ethnic identity were found by Keefe and Padilla (1987) to be surprisingly resistant to change over several generations. This contrasts with the acculturation traits which showed a significant decrease from first to fourth generation Mexican Americans. Figure 1 provides a summary view of Keefe and Padilla's (1987) findings.

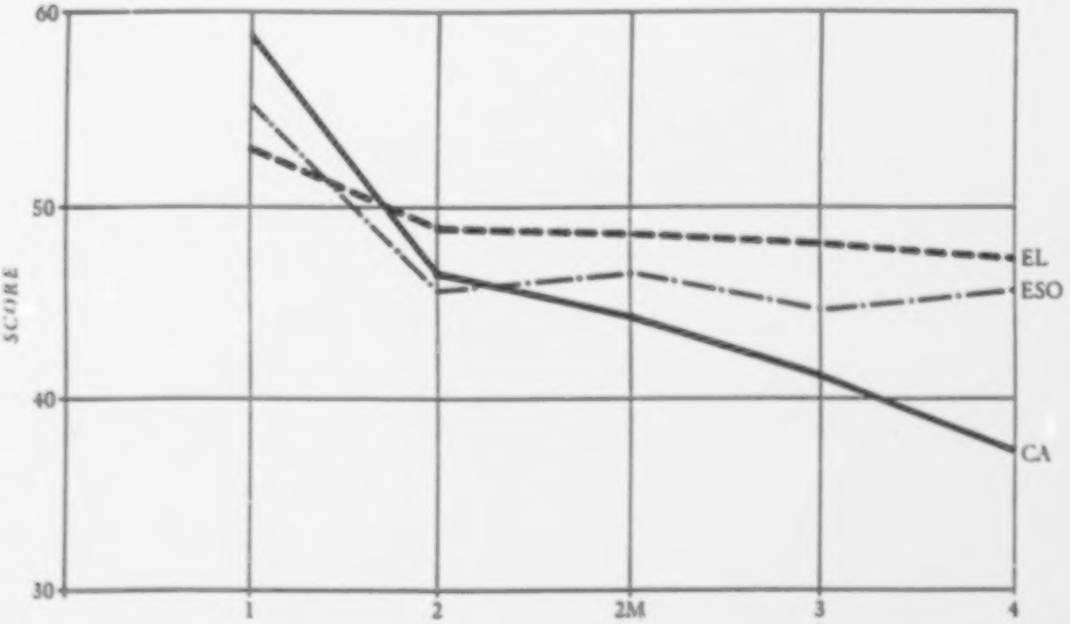

Figure 1. Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Traits

A central aspect of Ogbu's thesis is that first generation Mexican immigrants are more likely to perceive that their opportunity for success in this country far surpasses that available in their homeland. As a consequence of this perception, an interest in schooling exists because of the perceived link between school and a potential career. The second generation however perceives job discrimination and other forms of institutional discrimination and consciously or unconsciously questions the link between school and society. Schooling becomes viewed with mistrust, and as such it is an institution to resist. Ogbu (1986, 1987, 1990) uses the terms "oppositional collective identity" and "oppositional cultural frame of reference" to describe the perspectives that lead to resistance to schooling and corresponding student underachievement. Ogbu's concepts, embodied in the term of "oppositional collective identity," correspond to the ethnic identity traits of Padilla's survey.

Trueba's thesis emphasizing communication and interaction between the teacher and student lead us to look closely at the acculturation traits of language preference, respondent's cultural heritage, and parents' cultural heritage.

Using the instrument developed by Padilla as a way to measure numerous acculturation and ethnic identity traits, the following expected relationships may be drawn between the theories of Trueba and Ogbu, the acculturation and ethnicity identity traits, and student academic performance.

Neither Trueba nor Ogbu would argue that first generation students should show a higher acculturation trait score, in other words, they will be culturally more Mexican than second generation students. However, Trueba contends that the more the acculturation process has proceeded the more academically successful the student should be. Following this logic, second generation students, being more acculturated, showing a lower acculturation trait score, should perform academically better than first generation students.

For Ogbu, acculturation traits are not the salient element in projecting potential academic success. Acculturation was defined earlier as the loss of native cultural traits and the acceptance of new cultural traits. As established by Keefe and Padilla (1987), the loss and acceptance of acculturation traits is highly selective. Greater acculturation alone, for Ogbu, will not necessarily manifest itself in improved academic performance. Thus, for Ogbu, while acculturation trait scores will be lower for second generation students, the academic performance may also be lower.

Trueba's (1990) claim that Chicanos have no difficulty negotiating their mainstream roles and their ethnic roles, and that Chicanos are assimilating at rates equivalent to previous immigrants (1987, 1988, 1990) leads to the hypothesis that the ethnic identity trait scores should be less relevant to successful academic performance than acculturation traits. He would project a decrease of ethnic identity from first generation to second generation students and increased academic performance.

Ogbu (1982, 1983, 1987, 1990) considers ethnic "boundary maintenance," "cultural resistance" and "alternate folk theories of success" to be an integral aspect of ethnic identity and crucial in determining minority academic performance. As defined, ethnic identity represents a "created" symbolic reality. Ogbu's interpretation of ethnic identity leads to the hypotheses that the ethnic identity traits of second generation Mexican-American students should be higher than first generation students. As mentioned above, Ogbu's theory leads to the hypothesis that second generation Mexican-American students will perform less well academically than first generation students.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research study utilized both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The qualitative research methods assume that a group's cultural standards for behavior exert a significant, but not total, influence on individual behavior, and that various parts of a culture are interdependent and form a unified whole. Data are collected through various fieldwork techniques that vary in their focus.

For this research, the fieldwork techniques concerned themselves with three major objectives. The first objective was to elicit acculturation and ethnic identity trait responses from the students, using a survey instrument. Second, the student's grade point averages needed to be ascertained. Third, additional information was gathered to further explore the diversity of the Mexican-American student population. This chapter describes the participants, the instruments, and the procedures used. Additionally, this chapter includes a section describing the researcher's field experience.

The Student Population

The present high school students attend a school in a building composed of two sections. The main classroom section was built in 1917 for $92,000. At that time there were twenty-four students in the graduating class. Ironically, the two feature stories of the March 1916 issues of the West Liberty Index discuss the new school endorsement procedures and Pancho Villa's "Invasion" of New Mexico with pictures showing "Typical Mexican Outlaws." As history notes, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and a demand for labor in the United States, sparked by WW I, created the push-pull necessary for over 220,000 Mexicans to migrate to this county (Davis 1990). In 1913, Juan Ponce was the first Mexican-American to be born in West Liberty; he graduated from West Liberty High in 1933. Today it is estimated that half of the town's population has Mexican heritage and comprises over one quarter of the school's population.

Original paving bricks still form the road surface in the front of the school. This three story brick building was typical of state of the art at the turn of the century. (See map and photographs on following pages, Figure 2 and 3 respectively) Though state of the art in 1917, today teachers and students tolerate poor heating, exposed plumbing, narrow stairways, high decaying ceilings, and echoing classrooms. In 1983 an athletic addition was built onto the school. The old gymnasium today serves as a lunch room and study hall. The food is lowered onto the lunch room floor via an open cable elevator. When the meal is completed the extra food and soiled serving utensils are hoisted out of the "pit."

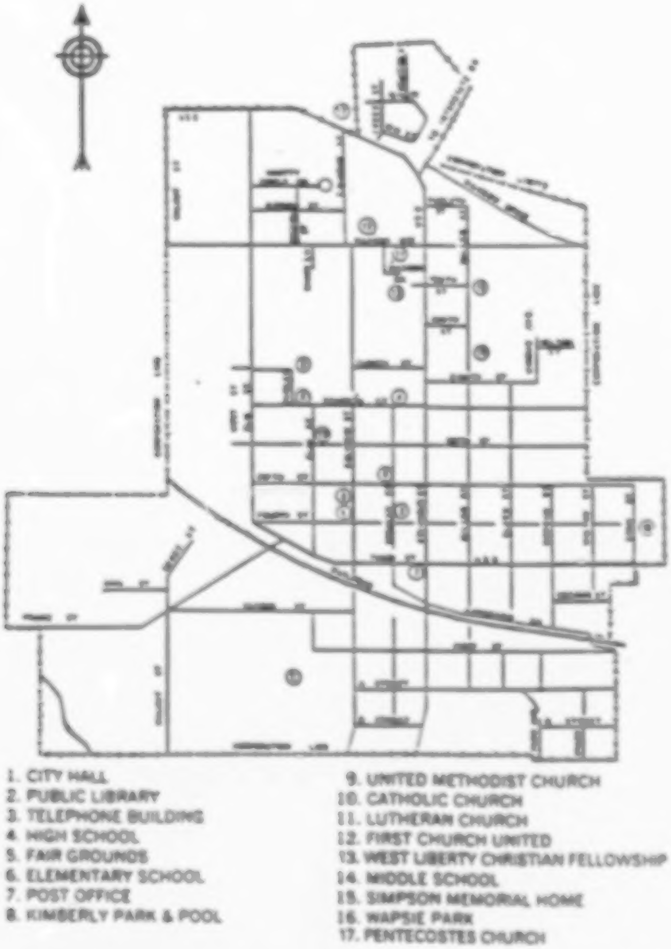
1. CITY HALL
2. PUBLIC LIBRARY
3. TELEPHONE BUILDING
4. HIGH SCHOOL
5. FAIR GROUNDS
6. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
7. POST OFFICE
8. KIMBERLY PARK & POOL
9. UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
10. CATHOLIC CHURCH
11. LUTHERAN CHURCH
12. FIRST CHURCH UNITED
13. WEST LIBERTY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP
14. MIDDLE SCHOOL
15. SIMPSON MEMORIAL HOME
16. WAPSIE PARK
17. PENTECOSTES CHURCH

Figure 2. Map of Town of West Liberty, Iow

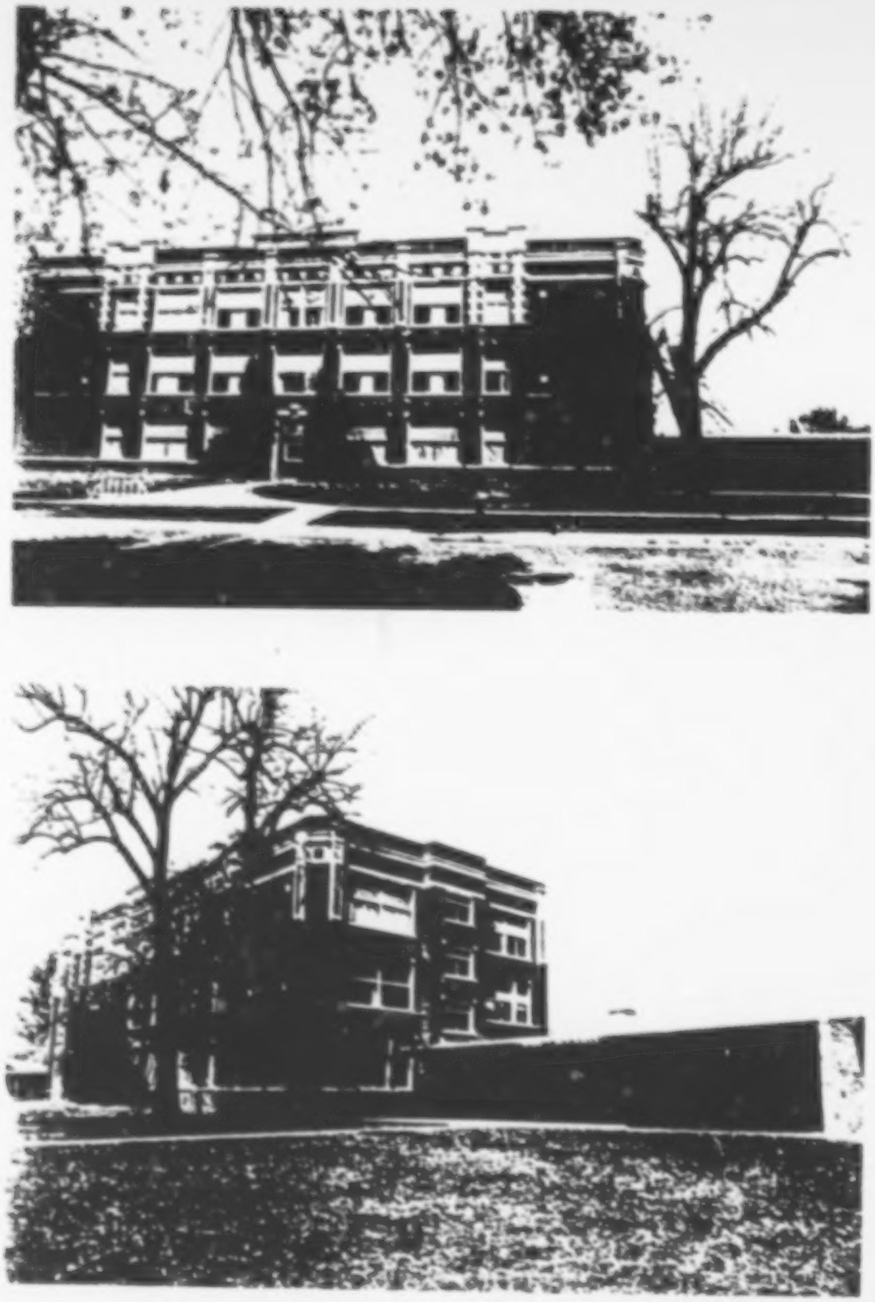

Figure 3. Photographs of West Liberty High School, 1991

The student body includes grades eight through twelve. In 1991, the three upper high school grades at West Liberty High consisted of a total of sixty-nine sophomores, sixty-nine juniors, and fifty-six seniors. In 1988 there were seventy-two seniors, but based upon elementary school enrollment, it is estimated that by 2000 there will be more than eighty in the senior class. The school population is growing within the district, particularly at the elementary level. The Mexican-American high school student population at West Liberty high school consisted of thirty-four individuals; fourteen classified as sophomores, eleven as juniors, and nine as seniors. One student left the school at the time of the study, leaving thirty-three. All of the students were from working class backgrounds. The parents or the in-laws that the students live with, work in a number of different locations, but all perform semi-skilled or unskilled labor.

The study has twenty-eight cases, or 85 percent of the total Mexican-American student population. Sixteen of the cases are male, and 12 are female. The GPA and class standing was based upon records supplied by the West Liberty High School administration.

Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Survey

The researcher interviewed the Mexican-American high school students with survey questions designed to elicit acculturation and ethnic identity traits. The testing device in this survey was derived from Keefe and Padilla (1987) and can be found in Appendix A. The Keefe and Padilla study was far more extensive in its objectives than this research. Nevertheless, their questionnaire was useful due to its detail and categorization of traits.

The students' responses were divided into first and second generation categories. There were thirteen first generation and fifteen second generation Mexican-American students. The responses were then analyzed to see what correlation existed between the academic performance and the acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores. The survey responses, along with additional observations and interviews, were then used as a basis to discuss the applicability of Trueba's and Ogbu's educational theories.

The questions were offered in either English or Spanish depending upon the student's language preference. The responses were scored so that a high score on any question reflects an awareness of, or loyalty to, Mexican cultural heritage and values. Thus, in response to the question, "Do you prefer to speak Spanish or English?", "Spanish" would receive a 3, "English" a 1, and "no preference" a 2.

One hundred and eight questions were asked of each student. These questions were clustered into the two categories of acculturation traits and ethnic identity traits. Comprising the category of acculturation traits are the variables of: Respondents' Language Preference (RLP), Respondents' Cultural Heritage (RCH), Parent's Cultural Heritage (PCH) and Cultural Identification (CI). Comprising the category of ethnic identity traits are the variables of: Ethnic Social Orientation (ESO), Ethnic Pride (EP), and Perceived Discrimination (PD). In addition, questions regarding the sex, grade level, parents' occupation, and GPA were asked in the survey. GPA represents the dependent variable. The following outline summarizes the categories of questions.

Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Traits
(Adapted from Keefe and Padilla, 1987)

Acculturation Traits Category

I. Respondents' Language Preference (RLP)
  A. Respondent's language preference in personal situations, 7 questions.
  B. Respondent's language choice in situations dealing with other people, 9 questions.
  C. Respondent's preferred first name, 1 question.

II. Respondents' Cultural Heritage (RCH)
  A. Respondent's cultural heritage and contact, 9 questions.
  B. Respondent's language familiarity, 14 questions.
  C. Respondent's knowledge of Mexican cultural symbols, historical events, and contemporary personalities, 7 questions.
  D. Ethnicity of peers during childhood and adolescence, 3 questions.

III. Parent's Cultural Heritage (PCH)
  A. Parent's ethnic identification, 2 questions.
  B. Parent's language familiarity and usage, 10 questions.

  - C. Parent's cultural inheritance and contact, 2 questions.

IV. Cultural Identification (CI)
  - A. Perception of Mexico and U.S., 4 questions.
  - B. Respondent's identification with a group name, 6 questions.
  - C. Preference for traveling in Mexico, 1 question.

Ethnic Identity Traits Category

V. Ethnic Social Orientation (ESO)
  - A. Ethnicity of associates at the present time, 4 questions.
  - B. Preference for and consumption of Mexican food, 10 questions.

VI. Ethnic Pride and Affiliation (EP)
  - A. Perception of Mexican culture, 3 questions.
  - B. Preference for ethnicity of associates, 4 questions.

VII. Perceived Discrimination (PD)
  - A. Perceived personal discrimination, 3 questions.
  - B. Perceived group discrimination, 6 questions.

Student Information Questions

VIII. Post Secondary Plans
  - A. Self perceptions, 5 questions.

Data Collection Procedures

Each student in the sophomore, junior, and senior class who was identified as having Mexican ancestry was mailed a participation permission slip, an explanatory letter, and an introduction and endorsement for the project. These were written in both Spanish and English and can be found in the Appendix. Visits were made to the schools on numerous occasions. A few students were located with each visit in "study hall." The project was explained to them, they received permission forms, and were told that there would be a follow up. It often took numerous follow up attempts to finally receive the permission forms and schedule a time to interview the student. Eventually twenty-eight students, or 85 percent of the total, agreed to participate.

Only two students required the Spanish language version of the survey. The interviews were conducted in private, on a one-to-one basis. Each interview required approximately 40 minutes. The responses were recorded on a large grid sheet. Later the responses were transferred to a spread sheet program, where they could be subject to analyses of various forms. At the close of the interview each student was asked to sign a form that gave permission to the school office to release their GPA. They were also asked if they would be available for a more extended interview later in the semester. All the students agreed to release their grades and participate in another interview if necessary. Once all the surveys were completed, and the GPAs received, the spread sheet program was used to recode the responses into numerical form and total the score categories. A total score was arrived at for each category by summing individual responses. A statistical analysis of the data was then performed.

Additional Interviews

Further in-depth questioning of three selected students was also performed. The use of second interviews for three students (two male, one female) who had different academic and acculturation patterns was an attempt to further describe the cultural patterns and academic performance of those individuals. Included in these interviews were questions about the student's future career and educational aspirations. In addition to a formal interview session of approximately one and one-half hours each, I observed and talked with each of these students regularly while in the school working as a substitute teacher.

On Participant-Observation and Ethnographic Intent

Wolcott's essay "On Ethnographic Intent" deals in some detail with the subject of what ethnography is not (1987). He offers some specific points, for example, "ethnography is not field technique," "ethnography is not length of time in the field," "ethnography is not simply good description," and "ethnography is not created through gaining and maintaining rapport with subjects." One can easily manage imagining what each of these might entail, or how to go about achieving them. On the other hand, when he defines what educational ethnography is, he must rely on a generalization: "The purpose of ethnographic research is to describe and interpret cultural behavior."

Wolcott is not alone in bringing a broad generalized definition to the topic of ethnography. Spindler and

Spindler (1987) list ten criteria for good ethnography, that ideally should lead to explaining behavior from the "native's point of view." Fetterman (1987) says that ethnographic educational evaluation is the process of applying "ethnographic techniques and concepts to educational evaluation." Wolcott (1982) further elaborates the definition by attempting to distinguish between "doing ethnography" and "borrowing ethnographic techniques." The beginning student considering the use of ethnography, and taking his direction from Wolcott, may search in vain for the Platonic ideal of an ethnography. Nonetheless, given the general eclectic nature of ethnographic research and the generally accepted use of participant observation methodologies, the diverse data collection methods of this study including a survey instrument, indepth interviews, observing as a substitute teaching, and contacts outside the school, seem to be appropriate, and indeed have informed the researcher far more than any one technique could have. Further, extended contact with the students was absolutely vital to the successful completion of this project. The following section records the development of the ethnographic research relationship with the school, community and students.

Visitor to a Community

In March, 1990 a pilot study was performed at West Liberty high school with fellow graduate student, Frano Paukner. The goal of the pilot study was, in part, to test the openness to a survey study of this type by the students and community. The pilot study required only 10 subjects, and proceed without difficulty. The Superintendent and Principal endorsed the program, and University Human Subjects, Committee D, approval was forthcoming. At a later meeting the Principal selected ten Mexican-American students from a roster of junior and senior high students. He handed the students the required permission slips, collected them, and pursued a few of the late returns. All the students were cooperative when we interviewed them, and based upon this experience, a similar plan was developed for the dissertation. Six months later the experience was a different one.

The Superintendent found a job in another state, the Principal became the Superintendent, a new Principal was hired, and Dr. Susan Stratton was hired to manage the ESL program in West Liberty. Fortunately, Dr. Stratton knew of the previous study and had no objection to the new proposal. The new proposal differed significantly from the pilot; interviews were only among high school students, and the scope increased to approximately 33 students, or 100 percent of the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade Mexican American students.

with a written endorsement by Dr. Susan Stratton accompanying a brief explanation of the study, permission slips were mailed to all parents of the students. Two weeks later (the deadline) only one permission slip had been returned.

Had the positive response of the previous year not been experienced, the lack of response would possibly have discouraged further research. It was concluded that not meeting the students individually was a mistake, and that they would more likely respond if spoken to personally. In addition, Dr. Stratton arranged for a discussion of the project with the parents who came to a monthly ESL meeting. All these measure helped, but, it took from October, 1990 to March, 1991 to finally interview all the students who were willing to participate.

The dynamics of this process are worth discussing. The new procedure involved talking to the students personally about the study. Essentially the students were told that it was a study designed to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Mexican-American student population and to see if there was any correlation to the answers on certain parts of the study and their academic performance. Fortunately there were a few seniors who immediately agreed to participate and signed the authorization forms after the discussion. They were eighteen or older.

The seniors opened up the opportunity to conduct the interviews. After a few of them participated in the interview the word spread that the research was nothing to be concerned or alarmed about. ("The guy with the tennies is cool.") The procedure of singling out a few students at a time was generally effective, but slow. Some parents did not want their children to be in the study, even if the students agreed. Nevertheless, twenty-eight of a possible thirty-three students were finally interviewed, or 85% of the possible sample.

The overall pattern of interviews is interesting to note. The seniors participated first, 7 of whom were male, then most male juniors and some female juniors, then the balance of the males and females. It seemed that as I entered different student subgroups the students would let their friends know about their evaluation of the interview process.

This was a process of building trust. As one of the high school teachers remarked, "You're lucky, they could have decided not to talk with you." The rapport developed to the point that some very confidential personal information was revealed by some of the students. I reciprocated when possible, helping some with legal status questions and others with getting their drivers license, and advice about career opportunities. Throughout the process an assumption was maintained: what the students were revealing was valuable, both to me and to them. Their responses were kept confidential.

Additionally, working as a substitute teacher greatly facilitated my entree into the school activities. The teachers and students could see me in a familiar context. A graduate student researcher is an undefined role, and therefore harder to build a rapport of trust. It was easy for the students to tell their parents and friends that the researcher was a "teacher." This legitimization was particularly enhanced when substituting for the ESL classes. Many of the interviewees were in those classes, and the relationships forged with the ESL teachers was immensely useful. In fact, towards the end of the research project students were asking to be allowed into the project. Most of these students were not qualified due to the class level requirements of the study.

As the students became more familiar to me, clear distinctions in personality and status were discernible. The choice of indepth interviews of some individuals reflects a growing understanding of the uniqueness of the students. They have different backgrounds, different perceived needs, and place varied importance on academic outcomes; all of them, however, have managed to successfully create an identity that functions in a complex environment.

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In summary, twenty-eight Mexican-American students participated in this research. All were administered a modified version of Keefe and Padilla's (1987) Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty Survey. Three participated in an indepth interview. The survey, interviews, and participant-observation, as a substitute teacher, were all activities designed to gather information that would allow an evaluation to be made of the appropriateness of the cultural-discontinuity and the cultural-ecological models of minority educational achievement for Mexican-American high school students in West Liberty, Iowa.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Restatement of the Purpose

This study is designed to analyze how acculturation and ethnic identity traits of first and second generation Mexican-American students in West Liberty, Iowa correlate with their academic performance. The relationship among the variables of generation, acculturation and ethnic identity traits, and academic performance, as measured by GPA, is studied. These findings then form the basis for a discussion of the educational theories of Ogbu and Trueba.

Organization of the Results

Major findings are presented and discussed in the first section of this chapter. The two research hypotheses and Table 2, summarizing the expected results and the findings, introduce the first section. The major findings are then presented. Following the major findings are the detailed findings of the research project.

Information concerning the students' academic performance is presented in Section Two. Data concerning GPA, class rank, sex and generation are presented.

Section Three contains the data from the acculturation and ethnic identification trait survey presented in the order of the variables outlined below. The acculturation traits include the variables of Respondent's Language Preference (RLP), Respondent's Cultural Heritage (RCH), Parent's Cultural Heritage (PCH), and Cultural Identification (CI).

The ethnic identity traits include the variables of Ethnic Social Orientation (ESO), Ethnic Pride (EP), and Perceived Discrimination (PD). Each variable will be discussed in terms of first and second generation students.

Section four includes the Pearson Correlation tables, and T-Test tables. The tables present the acculturation and ethnic identity variables in terms of first generation, second generation.

Section five is composed of information taken from the survey and in depth interviews. The interviews attempt to more fully explore students' motivations for attending school and their future goals. The responses give an indication of the extent to which the students are willing to participate in mainstream acculturation.

Section One: Major Findings

The following two hypotheses were developed that would test the validity of the two theorists in terms of acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores and academic performance of first and second generation students.

1. Cultural-discontinuity theory, as espoused by Trueba, will be supported if the findings indicate that second generation Mexican-American students have: (1) lower acculturation trait scores, (2) lower ethnic identity trait scores, (3) indicate a willingness to participate in mainstream acculturation, and (4) have higher academic achievement than first generation students.

2. Cultural-ecological theory, as espoused by Ogbu, will be supported if the findings indicate that second generation Mexican-American students have: (1) lower acculturation trait scores, (2) continued high ethnic identity trait scores, (3) indicate a resistance to mainstream acculturation, and (4) have a lower academic performance than first generation students.

The major findings of this study reveal that both first and second generation Mexican-American students in West Liberty are succeeding academically, and they have a motivation to participate in mainstream society. Measures comparing first and second generation students reveal a trend in the second generation towards acculturation based upon acculturation trait measures. Both generations exhibit strong ethnic identity characteristics. There was no significant correlation between any of the acculturation or ethnic identity traits and student academic performance. This finding is similar to that of Vazquez (1990) for university students.

Table 2 shows the expected relationships that were involved in generating the hypotheses, and the outcomes generated by the findings.

Table 2. The Expected and Actual Relationships of Acculturation Traits, Ethnic Identity Traits, and Academic Performance, for Both Generations, by Theorist

		First/Second Proposed		First/Second Generation Actual Findings	
Acculturation Traits					
Language Preference	Trueba(T)	Base	Lower	Higher	Lower
	Ogbu (O)	Base	Lower		
Respondents' Cultural Heritage	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Lower
	O	Base	Lower		
Parents' Cultural Heritage	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Lower
	O	Base	Lower		
Cultural Identification	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Lower
	O	Base	Lower		
Ethnic Identity Traits					
Ethnic Social Orientation	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Higher
	O	Base	Higher		
Ethnic Pride	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Higher
	O	Base	Higher		
Perceived Discrimination	T	Base	Lower	Higher	Higher
	O	Base	Higher		
Mainstream Interests					
Mainstream Interests	T	Base	Higher	Higher	Higher
	O	Base	Lower		
Academic Performance					
Grade Point Average	T	Base	Higher	Higher	Higher
	O	Base	Lower		

The academic achievement of both first and second generation students is comparable. This finding contradicts many statistical and theoretical models, including those proposed by Ogbu (1987, 1990) and Trueba (1990). An investigation into the higher mean GPA scores of the first generation, reveals that they may be the result, in part, of the quality academic preparation by Mexican students in Mexico who are now seeking an additional high school degree in the United States (Macias, 1990).

The academic achievement pattern for Mexican-American students in West Liberty, Iowa deviates from national norms. Both first and second generation students are generally academically successful. During the time period which the study was conducted there were no dropouts. Second generation GPA scores are lower, but not significantly so, and when course content is considered, the second generation is continuing to progress academically. The sophomore class has a higher GPA than the junior class, and the junior class is above that of the senior class. This could indicate that over the next few years the performance of the Mexican-American students will improve, as a group, rather than decrease. The consistent academic performance of both generations of students support neither Ogbu's nor Trueba's hypothesis.

Trueba's claim that first generation students are likely to perform less well academically than second generation students was not supported. His rational for such a claim is based upon an assumed cultural and linguistic barrier. The middle class schools of the United States, he claims, do not provide an academic program that is sufficiently tailored to a predominantly lower class immigrant population. The typically rural and lower class immigrants then perform poorly or fail due to their inability to adjust to the unfamiliar institution.

Ogbu's position that second generation students would not perform as well as first generation students due to castelike perceptions of resistance towards schooling was also not supported. Both the first and second generation students have a desire to graduate from high school and view schooling as a step in their future.

The acculturation traits of Language Preference, Respondent's Cultural Heritage, Parent's Cultural Heritage, and Cultural Identification each show significantly lower scores for second generation students. The acculturation trait scores form an important base line of cultural orientation. The scores establish that first and second generation students are categorically different in their level of acculturation. The findings support the section of hypothesis number one and two that states: students have lower acculturation trait scores. If acculturation traits showed no change one might assume that the environment was not significantly different from the native culture's environment. In Iowa this would seem an unlikely possibility, but in border sections of this country, or in closed barrio neighborhoods there may not be a significant acculturation trait change. The implications of this regional cultural influence need to be considered in acculturation research of this type.

The Ethnic Identity Trait scores of Ethnic Social Orientation, Ethnic Pride, and Perceived Discrimination remained essentially unchanged from one generation to the next. While the students are experiencing acculturation, as indicated by the change in acculturation trait scores, certain ethnic features do not appear to be changing as rapidly, if at all. The lack of change supports the second hypothesis position, that of Ogbu, which states that students will have continued high ethnic identity trait scores. The students continue to prefer socialization with members of their own ethnic group, they continue to have pride in themselves as Mexicans, and they continue to feel some degree of prejudice and discrimination directed towards them as a group. In spite of the relatively clear indications of a continued high level of ethnic identity it is not clear whether these traits alone can establish the existence of an oppositional frame of reference as proposed earlier.

Important to the discussion of castelike perceptions and minority group "oppositional frames of reference" was the question asked of the students about their after graduation plans. This question was designed to help determine if the students were resisting mainstream acculturation. Twenty of the students indicated that they would seek some form of formal post-secondary schooling. Several of the seniors had been accepted to baccalaureate colleges, those that had not were planning on attending community colleges. If they follow through on their plans, this is significantly different from the national statistics that show Mexican-American enrollment in post secondary institutions to stand at 30 percent of high school graduates (NCLR 1990), and at approximately 15 percent for the population as a whole (NCLR 1990). Four of the male students indicated a desire to join the military. This choice did not change in spite of the commencement of "Operation Desert Storm" in January of that year. The other four students thought they would most likely work after graduation, perhaps continuing school at a later time.

The additional in depth interviews of three students found that they thought they might settle in West Liberty. The students expressed the desire for education to provide them with the skills and credentials necessary to be successful in future careers. Clearly mainstream values and goals were being adopted by the students. In all cases the parents or guardians of the students were employed in blue collar positions, many at the Lewis Rich processing plant. Many students had part-time jobs at the plant as well. This situation of full employment may have a large bearing on the perceived opportunities and motivations for student performance.

The findings do not support either hypothesis definitively. The four acculturation trait scores support the expected findings for both Trueba and Ogbu, the three ethnic identity trait scores support the expected findings for Ogbu, the mainstream interest score supports the expected findings for Trueba, and the academic performance results support neither. While the pattern of acculturation and ethnic identity traits would tend to support the second hypothesis, that of Ogbu, the academic performance of the students and additional evidence provided by the interviews confounds the positions. Additionally, the correlations between the acculturation and ethnic identity traits and GPA found that no variable could be significantly correlated to academic performance.

Section Two: Grade Point Average (GPA)

The GPAs were acquired from the administrative office one quarter prior to the end of the 1991 school year.

Table 3. A Comparison of Range of GPA, Median GPA, and Class Rank for Entire Student Body and Mexican-American Students

	Entire Class	Soph.	Jr.	Sr.	Mexican American	Soph.	Jr.	Sr.
Range GPA	.625-4.0				.82-3.40			
Range Rank		1-69	1-69	1-56		6-67	32-66	32-56
Median GPA		2.267	2.643	2.434		2.933	1.652	1.78

On a 4.00 scale, the GPA for all the Mexican-American participants ranged from .82 to 3.40. The range of GPAs for the entire student body was from 4.00 to .625. The median GPA for the sophomore class was 2.267; the median for the Mexican-American sophomores who participated in the study was 2.933. The median for the junior class was 2.643; the median for the Mexican-American juniors was 1.652. The median for the senior class was 2.434; the median for the Mexican-American seniors was 1.78.

The highest standing attained by the junior and senior class is 32, whereas the sophomore class has several students above 15.

The following table displays the class rank, GPA, and sex of the nine Mexican-American sophomore students who participated in the study.

Table 4. Class Rank, Grade Point Average, and Sex of Participants in Study: Sophomore Class

Class Rank	GPA	SEX M = 3	F = 6
Means: 25/69	2.63	2.58	2.65

The junior class had eleven Mexican-American students, ten of whom agreed to participate. Table 5 displays the relevant academic achievement data.

Table 5. Class Rank, Grade Point Average, and Sex of Participants in Study: Junior Class

Class Rank	GPA	SEX M = 6	F = 4
Means: 52/69	1.85	1.91	1.76

The senior class contained nine Mexican-American students, all of whom agreed to become involved in the study. Table 6, presents the relevant academic data.

Table 6. Class Rank, Grade Point Average, and Sex of Participants in Study: Senior Class

Class Rank	GPA	SEX M = 7	F = 2
Means: 45/69	1.78	1.92	1.28

Using a standard 4.00 scale for grading purposes, one can conclude that of the twenty-eight participants, fourteen students (50 percent) are below a "C" average of 2.00; ten have some type of "C" range average, while four students are within the "B" range.

Four of the nine sophomores are not at "grade level." Three of the sophomores are eighteen, and one is seventeen. These four students have the highest GPAs of the class. Their retention in a "lower" class is not due to academic failure, but because they are recent transfers from Mexican schools and they have academic language barriers. One of the students had previously graduated from a Mexican high school. If these students were to be included in either the junior or senior classes the significance of the grade level to GPA comparison would shift because the students' high GPA scores would influence class rank. However, since the study focuses on the Mexican-American students as a group and by place of birth, the four students' placement out of "grade level" does not alter the overall outcome.

Generation and GPA

The next aspect discussed is the students' country of origin. For the purpose of this study students are categorized as first or second generation immigrants. Thus, a first generation student is one who was born in Mexico, a second generation student was born in The United States.

The students were asked, "Were you born in Mexico or in the United States?" The response was: fifteen born in the United States and thirteen born in Mexico. Table 6 displays the GPAs by country of origin. The results of the T-tests, located in section three of this chapter, indicate that the difference between the two means is not statistically significant.

Table 7: GPA Values by Country of Origin

Origin	GPA/ USA N=15	GPA/ Mexico N=13
Mean:	1.93	2.25
S.D.	.603	.841

The difference in scores appear to support the expected relationship for academic performance as proposed by Ogbu in Chapter I. First generation students did perform better academically than second generation students, however the difference is not statistically significant.

Dropouts

During the period of fieldwork at West Liberty High, there was one Mexican-American student who left the school. It was unclear whether or not he dropped out; it was said he returned to Mexico because he "didn't like it up here." Without doubt this one student did not stay in West Liberty. Because the case is vague I will not categorize this student as a dropout. Therefore the Mexican-American students were identical to the Anglo students studying at the school during the time period when the research was conducted: there were no dropouts. This is a remarkable contrast to the national statistics regarding dropout rates for Mexican-American students. Approximately 50% of Mexican-American students fail to complete four years of high school (NCLR 1990).

Essential information about the participants' GPA, class standing, and country of origin has been presented. The following section presents the results of the acculturation and ethnic identity trait survey.

Section Three:
Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Trait Scores

Respondent's Language Preference

The questions that comprised the respondents language preference can be found in Appendix 1, part 1, A, B, and C. The seventeen questions are designed to elicit an accurate assessment of the preferred language use in a number of different settings. Appendix 2 displays the responses to all the questions in a coded form. For this section most questions had three answer options: English, Spanish, and no preference. If a person answered that they preferred to use English in all question categories a derived score of 17 would have been possible. If a respondent had answered that he preferred Spanish in all situations a score of 51 would have been possible. Table 8 displays the mean range of responses by generation.

Table 8: Respondent's Language Preference

	First Generation	Second Generation
N =	13	15
Mean	35.00	25.93
S.D.	6.66	5.86

This finding supports the expected relationship for both Ogbu and Trueba, as proposed in Chapter I. The second generation scores were lower than the first generation, indicating a trend in the second generation towards greater use of English. The degree of difference is significant, as indicated by the T-Tests found in section three of this chapter.

Respondent's Cultural Heritage

The Respondent's Cultural Heritage section was composed of three subsections; cultural inheritance and contact, language familiarity, cultural symbols and peer ethnicity. The questions for this scale can be found in Appendix 1; Part 2: A, B, and C. Each of these subsections will be discussed individually.

Table 9: Respondent's Cultural Heritage

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	53.31	43.93
S.D.	6.09	5.93

Cultural inheritance and contact focused on the number of years a person lived and attended school in either Mexico or the United States. It also was concerned with the number of times that an individual continues to visit Mexico. Issues involving country of origin have already been discussed, here we will consider school attendance and contact with Mexico.

One question in this group involved time spent in school in Mexico. Because this study is interested in academic performance, some further analysis of this feature was considered appropriate. Fourteen of the twenty-eight students reported that they had some schooling in Mexico. The circumstances of schooling and the number of years varied. Some students were born in the United States and then returned with their families to Mexico and attended school during that period. Others were born in Mexico and attended school there as they grew older. The number of years that people reported attending school ranged from one year to twelve years, with an average of five years. It is important to note that the students who attended six or more years of schooling in Mexico have all earned the highest GPAs in their classes in the United States.

Table 10: Mexican School Attendance and GPA

	Mexican School Attendance	GPA
N = 13	0 years	1.98
N = 10	1 to 6 years	2.17
N = 5	6 to 12 years	3.07

The five students who attended six or more years of school in Mexico had an average GPA of 3.07. This is a full point above the group mean. While there was little difference between the average GPA scores based on place of birth, there is a positive relationship between receiving at least six years of schooling in Mexico and superior academic performance in the United States.

The second essential element in this category involves the respondents' contact with Mexico while living in the United States. This contact is different from birth place in Mexico in that it only represents short visits, such as vacations or business trips. Only one person reported not visiting Mexico since he began residing in the United States, and that person was born in Mexico and had attended one year of schooling in that country. Thus all students have had some contact with Mexico, and all but two had visited in the past five years. In response to the question, "How many times have you visited Mexico beyond the border cities in the past five years?" a range from 0 to 10 was given, with three stating that they had been living there permanently until the last five years. Assuming that "living" in Mexico could be counted as ten visitations, an average of 4.5 visitations per student over the last five years can be calculated.

Language familiarity, the second component of the Respondent's Cultural Heritage scale, is related to the first issue in the chapter, Language Preference, but in addition this section attempts to discern the degree to which one is comfortable with basic literacy issues in both Spanish and English languages. It asks the respondent where the language was learned, and preferences regarding media.

Eight students reported that they felt their English language skills were at least "good," and twenty labeled them as excellent on a "fair, good, or excellent" scale. Home and school were important places to learn and use English language skills. English language skills of reading and writing were reported to be attained by all students.

Spanish language speaking skills, on the other hand, were reported to be only "fair" by four students, "good" by thirteen students, and "excellent" by seven students. In addition two students reported that they could not write in Spanish. The students gave various qualifications to their responses, such as, "I only speak Spanish at home with my *abuela*" *(grandmother). In addition, based upon comments by* the Spanish teachers at the school, and my own conversations with the students, it would seem that some of the complex Spanish constructions were unknown, or little used. One must be careful about making too much of this fact though since the same could likely be said of English speaking high school students in rural Iowa in general. They also may not speak a sophisticated prose, yet communicate quite effectively.

The next section of the Respondent's Cultural Heritage measure is called "Cultural Symbols and Peer Ethnicity." A breakdown of the section reveals two basic components. First, there are seven questions that address current and past Mexican political and artistic cultures. The students scores ranged from a low of seven, which means that they answered all questions incorrectly, to a high of nineteen; a score of twenty-one was possible. Thus a tendency exists for the two factors to be associated with each other. A knowledge of "things" Mexican is associated with more frequent contact with Mexican heritage people. As indicated by the Pearson Correlation results in section three of this chapter, there is a strong correlation between the Cultural Symbols and Peer Ethnicity category and place of birth.

Time spent in Mexico affects the students' peer group and their familiarity with Mexican cultural knowledge.

The Respondent's Cultural Heritage section is composed of the above three subsections; cultural inheritance and contact, language familiarity, and cultural symbols and peer ethnicity. Table 10 portrays the Respondent's Cultural Heritage composite mean scores. The second generation scores are lower than the first generation scores, indicating that the overall Cultural Heritage on the part of second generation students has less contact with Mexico, and less associated cultural knowledge.

These findings support the expected relationships proposed in Chapter I for both Ogbu and Trueba. Second generation students have a lower Cultural Heritage score than first generation students. The difference is statistically significant, as indicated by the T-Tests found in section three of this chapter.

Parent's Cultural Heritage

The Parent's Cultural Heritage section addresses several issues regarding the students' parents. The questions dealt with the students' perceptions of some of their parents' preferences. The first two questions asked the students what "group name" they thought their parents would identify with or prefer to use. The second part asked questions about the parents' language usage.

Table 11: Parent's Cultural Heritage

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	40.15	34.87
S.D.	2.51	8.54

The responses to the "group name" questions revealed a strong bias towards using the label "Mexican or Mexicano." The students chose the label "Mexican" 73 percent of the time as the choice that their parents would most likely select for themselves. "Mexican-American" was chosen 14 percent of the time, "American" 8 percent, "Chicano" 4 percent, and "Latino" 2 percent. The preference for "Mexican" is obvious. When asked, most of the students said that they felt the "Mexican" was the most inclusive term. Anyone with a heritage that traced its roots to Mexico, regardless of birth place could be called Mexican. On the other hand, terms like Latino, or Chicano, had an exclusive implication. One could not be Chicano, for example, if you were born in Mexico. That label therefor could signal a value judgment of preference. In addition, many of the students' parents were indeed born in Mexico, and the students' facial expressions left little doubt as to the ethnic label that their parents would prefer.

The second issue concerns the parents' language familiarity and usage. The students reported that all their fathers, and all but one mother spoke Spanish. In contrast to this only 70 percent of the fathers also spoke English, and 46 percent of the mothers also spoke English. First generation students were more likely to identify one's parents as "Mexican" and to have parents be monolingual Spanish speakers.

Second generation students have lower Parent's Cultural Heritage scores than first generation students. The results of this finding support the expected relationships proposed in Chapter I for both Ogbu and Trueba. The degree of difference is statistically significant as indicated by the T-Tests found in section three of this chapter.

Cultural Identification

The Cultural Identification section dealt with the students' perceptions of themselves, and to a lesser degree, their perceptions of Mexico. The first four questions deal with students' perceptions of some discrimination and economic issues. The questions ask to what extent do they agree or disagree with statements comparing certain aspects of the United States and Mexico. The response scale was coded in such a way that a response of strongly agree, was given a value of five, on a five point scale, while a preference for strongly disagree, was assigned a one.

Table 12: Cultural Identification

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	57.31	49.8
S.D.	6.38	8.48

The scores of the Cultural Identification section are summarized above in table 12. The second generation's responses indicate that it does not perceive itself to be as closely identified with Mexican cultural labels as the first generation.

Statements one and four are variations on the same issue: where does one have "a better chance of getting ahead," the U.S. or Mexico? While there was a slight tendency to answer question four with more agreement than question one, in both cases the students felt that a person definitely has a better chance of getting ahead in the U.S. than in Mexico. In only three cases did students respond with a strongly disagree to either of these questions, and in all cases their response to the parallel question did not confirm such a strong opinion. It is possible that the question was not clearly understood.

Statement two proposed that people in Mexico are friendlier than people in the United States. Answers indicated that the students neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. Statement three generated similar results. Statement three proposed that there is more discrimination in the United States than in Mexico. Responses by the students usually indicated that they felt that people were about the same in terms of friendliness and discrimination on either side of the border.

The second part of the Cultural Identification section asks the students how they self identify themselves. The six questions all focus on the respondent's identification with a "group name." As in the "Parents Cultural Heritage" section, a list of group names is suggested to the students from which they may choose.

Table 13: Ethnic Label Preference

Ethnic Label	First Generation	Second Generation	Total Percent
Mexican	10	2	43
Mexican-Amer	1	8	32
Chicano	1	4	18
Latino	1	1	7

The students chose the label "Mexican" 43 percent of the time when they were asked how they would describe themselves. This compares with the responses they thought their parents would give, 73 percent "Mexican." When combined with the responses "Chicano" and "Mexican-American, 93 percent responded within these strong Mexican identification labels. For most of the respondents the label they chose to identify themselves with was also the label with which they preferred to be identified by "Anglos." The one exception to this pattern was in response to the question, "How would you prefer to be known my Mexican people if you were traveling in Mexico?" In this case 19 students, or 68 percent answered "Mexican."

The students were also asked what they thought of themselves "as a child" and "ten years ago." In both cases 20 students, or 71 percent responded "Mexican." This apparent shift may be due to a number of factors including a more sophisticated world view, or the fact that some of the students were residing in Mexico when they were children.

A final question concerning their preferences for travel revealed that 18 students would prefer to travel to Mexico rather than within the United States if they were to go on a vacation at the present time.

The clear trend towards identifying as "Mexican" or a closely allied description is apparent. This trend follows place of birth to a degree, but not rigidly. However, as will be shown in section three of this chapter, there is no significant relationship between identifying label and academic success as measured by GPA. Table eleven displays by generation the ethnic label they chose for themselves.

The findings in this section support the expected relationship for Trueba and Ogbu, as proposed in Chapter I.

The scores of second generation students are significantly lower, as indicated by the T-Tests in section three.

The acculturation trait scores of Respondent's Language Preference, Respondent's Cultural Heritage, Parent's Cultural Heritage, and Cultural Identification all indicate that the second generation Mexican-American students have less preference for, less knowledge of, and less contact with, Mexican cultural knowledge and customs. The results confirm that second generation students are significantly different from first generation students in terms of their acculturation traits. Ogbu and Trueba are in essential agreement on this point. The point of departure for the two theorists involves the difference in ethnic identity of the two generations.

The next three scales; Ethnic Social Orientation, Ethnic Pride, and Perceived Discrimination; comprise the measures of ethnic identity. The ethnic identification section reflects the student's symbolic reality concerning their ethnicity (Keefe & Padilla 1987) and is similar to the "collective identity" discussed by Ogbu (1986). Here Ogbu claims that second generation castelike minorities (which include Mexican-Americans) develop, as a feature of their identity, a resistance towards standard cultural values of success in school and society. Trueba claims that second generation Mexican-American students are more acculturated and therefore more able to assimilate.

Ethnic Social Orientation

Ethnic Social Orientation refers to the participants' present socialization pattern. This measure focuses on socialization patterns and eating preferences. The following table displays the mean scores.

Table 14: Ethnic Social Orientation

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	34.15	32.66
S.D.	1.57	4.91

These findings support the expected relationship as proposed in Chapter I for Ogbu. The "high" scores of Ethnic Social Orientation for the first generation are also found in the second generation. The slight decrease in scores are not significant. The relatively high scores reflect a strong orientation towards social associations with individuals of similar ethnic background. The questions about food were doubly revealing. First, there was certainly a preference for Mexican food, but in addition it was discovered that in most of the households traditional Mexican foods are prepared from scratch. This data indicates a strength of family cultural traditions.

A question asked about the individual's religious affiliation bears discussion. All the students reported that they were Catholic, though not all actively participated in church activities. The town of West Liberty has a Catholic Mass every Sunday at the local parish, St. Joseph's. The service is well attended and many of the students participate. In addition to the "spiritual" guidance that the church provides, St. Joseph's provides practical community support programs including English classes and family crisis counseling. A sense of Hispanic community interaction and maintenance of cultural traditions through the church is evident for those who participate.

Ethnic Pride

The Ethnic Pride section consists of seven questions pertaining to student preferences for certain aspects of Mexican culture and preferred personal association. Table 15 displays the means and standard deviations for this factor.

Table 15: Ethnic Pride

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	21.39	19.2
S.D.	2.90	3.65

The first question asked of the students was how much they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Children of Mexican descent should learn about Mexican history in American schools." This question has particular interest because it may present some indication of their perceptions of the value of the English as a Second Language (ESL) and/or the Spanish for Spanish speakers programs in place in West Liberty. The findings reveal that thirteen students "strongly agreed," ten students "agreed," three students were "neutral," one "disagreed," and one "strongly disagreed." These results would seem to indicate that the majority of the students think that Mexican history is important to them personally, and that it merits attention within the school curricula. It may also serve as an indirect indication of their general appreciation of the school's existing attempts to provide some courses that include a focus on some of the positive values of Mexican culture, such as language and history.

While the mean score for this section was high, one question scored relatively low. The last question in the section asked the students: "Would you rather have the members of your family marry only people of Mexican descent?" Eighteen students responded that they had no preference, eight responded that, yes, they would prefer marriage to only people of Mexican descent, and only two indicated that they would not. Thus, while Ethnic Pride indicators are significant, it does not appear that the choice of one's mate is viewed as compromising that pride.

The findings in this category appear to support the expected relationships for Ogbu as proposed in Chapter I. However, the slight decreases are not statistically significant.

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived Discrimination consists of nine questions that attempt to elicit the subjective perceptions of the students concerning discrimination. The first three questions are directed directly to the students' personal experiences. The last six concern perceptions of group discrimination. Table 16 displays the results of the scores.

Table 16: Perceived Discrimination

	First Generation	Second Generation
Mean	23.31	21.53
S.D.	3.50	5.21

The responses to the first area of questions, perceived individual discrimination, revealed a trend towards greater perceived discrimination based upon grade level. In other words, the mean score rose slightly for each grade level.

The sophomore class had a mean score of 4.22; the juniors, a score of 4.40; the seniors, a score of 5.00. This could indicate a greater awareness and sensitivity on the part of the individuals answering the questions, or simply greater life experience on which to draw conclusions. But clearly there is a trend upwards, indicating greater perceived personal discrimination as one gets older.

The second area of questions, group discrimination, showed no such trend. Mean scores for the classes of sophomores, juniors, and seniors, were 18.67, 16.60, and 18.33 respectively.

Two questions bear more detailed analysis. Students were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Most teachers in the schools here pay more attention to the Anglo children than to the children of Mexican descent." Only six students "agreed" with this statement; there were no "strongly agree" responses. Nine had no opinion either way, while ten "disagreed" and three "strongly disagreed." It could be concluded that only a minority of students feels that the Anglo students receive more attention than do students of Mexican heritage.

The second statement that merits comment concerns the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The statement to which the students were to agree or disagree read as follows: "Most people of Mexican descent are suspected of being illegal aliens by the Immigration and Naturalization Service." The responses, many of which were given with facial expressions indicating emphatic conviction, indicated the perception that the INS does view most people of Mexican descent as illegal aliens. Eight students said they "strongly agreed" and twelve "agreed;" four had no opinion, three "disagreed," and one "strongly disagreed." Thus, more than two-thirds of the students thought that the INS. was a discriminatory agency. Whether this perception came from personal experience or information passed on to them by friends and family is not known.

These findings support the expected relationships for Ogbu as proposed in Chapter I. The level of Perceived Discrimination for first generation students maintains itself for second generation students. The slight decrease is not statistically significant, as indicated by the T-Tests in section three.

Section Four: Summary Relationships

This section presents a summary of the values of mean scores for the seven variables and GPA scores by first and second generation students, and Pearson Correlations for the same. Table 17 illustrates the summary of mean scores and presents the T-Tests calculations based upon those mean scores. Table 17 also displays the correlations between GPA and the acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores. The first section correlates all the variables for first generation students. The second section correlates all the variables for the second generation students.

Table 17: Means, Standard Deviations, Percentage Difference, T Values, and GPA by Generation

		Acculturation Traits				Ethnic Identity			
Gen	N	RLP	RCH	PCH	CI	ESO	EP	PD	GPA
1	13	35.00	53.31	40.15	57.31	34.14	21.36	23.31	2.24
S.D.		6.66	6.01	2.51	6.38	1.57	2.90	3.50	.84
2	15	25.93	43.93	34.88	49.80	32.67	19.20	21.53	1.92
S.D.		5.86	5.93	8.55	8.48	4.90	3.65	5.21	.60
Percent Diff.		25.9	17.6	13.1	13.1	4.3	10.1	7.6	14.1
T Value		-3.83	-4.12	-2.15	-2.61	-1.04	-1.73	-1.04	-1.16
P =		.001	.00	.04	.01	.306	.095	.308	.25

Gen = generation
RLP = Respondents' Language Preference
RCH = Respondents' Cultural Heritage
PCH = Parents' Cultural Heritage
CI = Cultural Identification
ESO = Ethnic Social Orientation
EP = Ethnic Pride
PD = Perceived Discrimination
GPA = Grade Point Average

As can be seen in Table 17, the acculturation traits of Respondent's Language Preference (RLP), Respondent's Cultural Heritage (RCH), Parent's Cultural Heritage (PCH), and Cultural Identification (CI) show the greatest percentage difference between first and second generation students. The ethnic identity traits of Ethnic Pride (EP) and Perceived Discrimination (PD) also show a relatively smaller percentage difference, while Ethnic Social Orientation (ESO) showed little change between the generations.

The small degree of difference between the first and second generation scores in the ESO category coupled with the larger differences in the RLP, RCH, and PCH categories may indicate the existence of an ethnic identity that is independent of acculturation factors. However, care must be made to not overstate the possible trends. As indicated in the T-Tests, the changes in mean scores for RLP, RCH, PCH, and CI are statistically significant. These findings, as mentioned earlier, support both the position of Trueba and Ogbu: second generation students in this study are significantly more acculturated than first generation students.

Pearson Correlation

This study includes an analysis of the relationship of the various acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores and their relationship to academic performance as measured by GPA. Table 18 displays the correlation values between GPA and the acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores. The correlations have been calculated for both generations. It is important to recall that due to the size of the sample indications of statistical significance are not reliable.

Table 18: Pearson Correlations
for First and Second Generations

		Acculturation Traits				Ethnic Identity		
	GEN	RLP	RCH	PCH	CI	ESO	EP	PD
GPA	1	.211	.327	.070	.260	-.175	-.055	-.214
P =		.489	.274	.819	.389	.566	.856	.482
GPA	2	.065	.257	.157	.297	.262	.263	.332
P =		.817	.354	.576	.281	.345	.343	.225

Gen = generation
RLP = Respondents' Language Preference
RCH = Respondents' Cultural Heritage
PCH = Parents' Cultural Heritage
CI = Cultural Identification
ESO = Ethnic Social Orientation
EP = Ethnic Pride
PD = Perceived Discrimination
GPA = Grade Point Average

There are no correlations that are statistically significant. The lack of correlation between the acculturation and ethnic identity trait scores and GPA undercut both the positions of Trueba and Ogbu.

The next section provides the responses to the survey question about students' academic and career goals and the results of the in depth interviews.

Section Five: Academic and Career Goal Interviews

In addition to the questions of acculturation and ethnic identity traits, each of the students were asked what their plans for the future included. The researcher assumed that if an alternative cultural option was indicated, rather than a mainstream interest, it might help support Ogbu's thesis of an "alternate folk theory of success."

In depth interviews were given to three of the respondents. One student was a male who had transferred from a Texas school and was academically "borderline." A second male was interviewed who was born in Iowa, but returned to attend school in Mexico for a few years before returning to West Liberty. He was an academically more successful student. The third interview involved a female student who had graduated from a Mexican high school, but was continuing her education here and was academically successful.

Mainstream Interests

Mainstream interests were indicated by the following responses. The responses to the survey question, "What are your plans after you graduate from school?" were as follows: 20 desired to attend college, 4 wanted to enter the military, 2 wanted to begin working somewhere, 1 wanted a family, and 1 did not know. The responses indicated a desire to be involved in the academic system. Among these students, college is perceived as a viable life option. The responses indicate a desire to socially "make it" within the terms of the broader society. One can not detect Ogbu's "castelike mentality of opposition" either towards education or towards the mainstream values of society. The three in depth interviews tend to support this view.

In Depth Interviews

The interviews focused on eliciting the students' motivations for attending school in West Liberty and tried to discover the students' vision of the future. These interviews were designed to provide more insight into the students' possible perceptions of castelike discrimination. Throughout the following three interviews the researcher's questions will be indicated with an "I." The respondents' answers and comments will be indicated with either a "B," an "F," or a "P," as appropriate.

First Interview

"Beto" is a 19 year old male, and a senior at West Liberty high school. He is a second generation Mexican-American. He lives in a small two story wood frame house in view of the old rail road station. The street in front of the house is paved with brick, as are others in the older part of West Liberty. A short walk from the house brings one to the Lewis Rich turkey processing plant, the major employer in the town, and employer, at this time, of three individuals within this household. The house is clean inside.

Beto lives with his cousins. Additional "family" members include his sister, and her twin daughters; his uncle and aunt, their two sons and three daughters. These eleven are "permanent" members. There are sometimes other family and friends. Beto often sleeps on the floor, without a cot. He does not seem to object, "Things are better here."

Beto was born in El Paso, Texas. He never knew his father. His mother, currently unemployed, lives with his brother in El Paso. Beto attended public school in El Paso for eleven years. This year, his senior year, he decided to relocate in Iowa. In his home in El Paso and in his Barrio he spoke Spanish "most of the time."

I: In El Paso, what language did you speak?
B: We didn't like to speak English. In the projects, we were a bunch of Cholos. If we talk English, or something, like, start, 'you gringo boy'.

I: What was school like in El Paso?
B: The guys were in ESL almost all day. Regular classes were in English. ESL was the lower track. There were about 1000 in my school. In high school there were about 75 in ESL. The students were wilder in ESL, it was like an insult.

I: What did you do in El Paso?
B: Wasn't in gangs. Hanging around with friends. We got in trouble with some of the other gangs, but usually we didn't consider ourselves gangs. Just a bunch of friends. The one who looked 'like an Anglo' when he spoke English, we teased him.

I: What language did you speak in school?
B: In the schools you are not allowed to speak Spanish. Like if you speak Spanish to your teacher, and the teacher will get in trouble.

I: Did you feel tension?
B: At first, when I was small. Not now. I learned it.

I: How do you see yourself now. When you use English now, do you see it as a foreign language?
B: I don't really like to speak English.

I: What made you decide to come to Iowa?
B: I don't know. To stay away from trouble. Hanging around too much. I wasn't doing any good.

Beto is a fluent Spanish speaker and reader, but he has difficulty writing. He thinks school could have done more for him in this regard.

I: What does it mean to you to be called "Mexican?"
B: Pride. Pride in the people.

I: Do you think you are learning anything in school this year?
B: Well, no not really.

I: How about your English?
B: A little bit. I get to practice it more over here than over there. What they teach you here is about the same as over there.

I: And the way they teach you, is that about the same too?
B: Yeah. I think there is allot better teachers in El Paso. There was a teacher, she would go through every step, just try to get it through our heads. Like here they don't really care. I learned more from her there.

I: Its my impression that at this school they are always telling students to be quiet. Is that your impression?
B: Yeah, and they have those study halls. The ones that are better let you talk in groups.

I: Do you think people should be competing with each other or working together?
B: I don't pay attention to it.

I: Do you think that the system in this country is fair?
B: No, not really. I don't like U.S. A lot of prejudice. It like the only way out is like the military. Sometimes I think its to send the minorities, and the white people stay here. I heard that when some people come here they have to sign something that says they

will be willing to fight. That's what I heard anyway. Send them. They don't really send the white guys. Sometimes I blame the schools. They put me in this school for 3 years for crazy people go. This person didn't like me, and my mom didn't know English, she signed this paper, so I could go to a better school and all that. She didn't know what she was signing. They have those mentally retarded kids.

I: What did you do at that school when you were there?
B: Well, mostly nothing. I felt worst about school. I dropped out in 7th grade. I started complaining so they put me back the regular school. At first when I got out of that school the teachers said 'No you can't do that. It's not for you'.
Like they put it up on the board, right. She starts doing the problem. That's how they learning, cause they don't know English, and they tell them that they can't speak Spanish.
Mostly all my friends, those guys I hung out, they all dropped out, my brother. One was 19 and only a freshman. So when he turned 20 they start charging him, so he just dropped out.

I: What does this town have to offer?
B: It only has Lewis Rich. That's the only thing I know about. They pay allot better here than in Texas. Over there the minimum is $3.35.

I: English only laws. What do you think about that?
B: Kinda stupid. Lots of people come, older people can't learn. In Canada they speak French and English, why can't they do that here? There are millions that speak Spanish.
When the U.S. entered Panama I felt angry. They just want to be superior. They didn't find anything in Noreaga's house.

I: Do you think Anglos think themselves as superior?
B: Yeah, sometimes I think of going somewhere else. Mexicans get blamed for too much. Maybe its an excuse to invade Mexico. I don't know, maybe its a crazy idea.

Beto exhibits a sophisticated awareness of the role that minorities have played in the military. At the time of the interview the United States was condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and preparing for Operation Desert Storm.

Beto was having doubts about joining the military, but by the close of the school year he still saw it as his best option and enlisted.

Throughout the interview Beto spoke softly and covered his mouth with his hand as he spoke. My impression was that the echoes of years of criticism for what and how he had spoken, in either English or Spanish, was causing him to conceal his mouth and words.

Second Interview

"Flora" graduated from a Mexican High school in Durango, Mexico. She is currently a student at West Liberty High School, and although 19 she has been positioned in the 10th grade. She is the top Mexican student in the school. She is a first generation student.

Flora lives with her aunt and uncle in a small well kept single story wood frame house. Also living there is another uncle and aunt. The second aunt recently arrived from Mexico and realizes she must get some illegal papers if she is to stay living in the States.

Flora's mother and father live in Mexico. Her mother is a housewife, and the father is a farmer. He grows beans and corn. He owns some land and works for other people. In the past few years the crops have done poorly due to excessive rain and flooding. They support her coming to the United States to study. She thinks that, at this point, she could return to Mexico and become an English teacher. She wants to have a diploma from a US school to assist her possible return to Mexico.

Her present situation produces considerable anxiety. Her present options seem to be to remain illegally in the US, and stay unable to get a job; return to Mexico and try to get another visa, a prospect that could easily take a year; get married to her present boyfriend, a permanent resident who will soon become a citizen as he enters the Army after graduation. The pressure to work may force her out of school or back to Mexico.

The following represent her responses to a series of questions on her views of schooling in Durango, Mexico and West Liberty, Iowa, and how she would like to organize her life.

I: What classes did you take in Mexico?
F: I took mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, geometry, and calculus. My grades in algebra were good, trigonometry good, but in calculus not good. Chemistry, physics, biology, Spanish, history, drawing like parts of cars, mechanical drawing.

I: Typical hours?
F: Eight hours per day, but we don't have study halls. No lunch. If you have time...If one of the teachers did not go to school, you can go to school, if not you can't have lunch.

I: Were there social activities?
F: Yes, basketball, football. Sometimes I played volleyball with my friends, but not an official team. There were several high schools in Durango. Maybe 300 in school. The school was very difficult. If you don't pass the test you don't go to that school.

I: English classes?
F: Yes, but they teach us the English just how to read and write. We pronounce the words like in Spanish. They don't tell us how to talk. I was studying foods. We made, for example, jelly and stuff like that.

I: What were the goals of the people who graduated?
F: Friends are studying at the "Technologico." Is were people from our school go. If you are studying at the preparatoria, you have to go to the university. If you are studying where I was studying you can't go to the university because they don't have the same classes. If you study in my school you have to go to the technologico.

When I was in the secundaria I had accounting and typing. Was most difficult when I was in Durango.

I: If you went back to Mexico, could you still go to the technology school?
F: Yes.

I: What kind of careers does that school prepare you for?
F: Engineer, civil, chemical, mechanical engineers. 'Informatica' on computers, programers. Two or three of my friends dropped out of the technologico, but most of them are still studying.

I: Why come to West Liberty?
F: I want to study here. I also wanted to work, but it is impossible.

I: Do you have some long range plans?
F: OK, maybe if I learn English, then I want to go to Mexico and work.

As can be seen from her responses, Flora is a highly motivated and self directed student. She was successful in Mexico, and wants to move ahead in the United States. The following questions and responses refer to her present status in school.

I: How did the school decide to put you in 10th grade?
F: I don't know. Maybe because of the language.

I: Have you talked to the counselors about this?
F: To a teacher. But I think he didn't hear me.

I: Is there some difficulty with going to school here next year?
F: Yes.

I: What is that?
F: I don't know if I going to finish school this year, because my aunt came to work and maybe I will start to work too, because my Uncle told me and told me I have to work.

I: Is there a problem with the school?
F: No. Is here.

I: Your status is that of a tourist, and that makes it difficult to work, right?
F: Yes.

I: How long here?
F: Two years.

I: Did they have you in 9th grade last year?
F: Yes. I think.

I: If you could stay, would you finish high school here?
F: I would like.

I: If you could finish school and stay in the United States what would you like to do?
F: If I can I would like to go to college. Interested in interior design, architect, a dermatologist, or a dental hygienist.

I: What is biggest difference between US and Mexico?
F: The school in Mexico, when the classes end you can go out, you here you always are inside. An other things, we don't have lockers. No gym, they play but out.

I: Do you think that opportunities hare are better than in Mexico?
F: Yes. I think here you have many opportunities. I have friends who have papers here. OK They are not in my situation, and they don't want to study. I want to study but I can't. One of my friends also have a scholarship, but she doesn't want to go to school.

Flora's English speaking ability was only fair. She could, however, read English fluently. Her Spanish was excellent, as reported by her friends and some teachers.

Flora realized that her immigration status was causing her problems in finding a job, but she was determined to pursue her dreams. Flora hoped she could gain permanent legal status in this country by marrying a resident.

Third Interview

"Pedro" is a 17 year old male in the 10th grade. He was born in Mexico near the border of Eagle Pass, Texas. For the purposes of this study he is considered a first generation student, but he is unique in that he has spent time in both country's school systems. He lived in Mexico until the age of four, then his parents moved to Nichols, Iowa and worked at Lewis Rich. He lived in Nichols until he was eleven. At that point he returned to Mexico with his parents, and stayed until he was 14. While there the Mexican school officials demoted him one grade level because they thought his Spanish language proficiency was below par with the other students his age. At 15 he returned to the US with his parents and settled in West Liberty, where he expects to graduate. He is not in the ESL program.

Pedro has the best academic standing of any of the male Mexican students. He will be attending a special University of Iowa program this summer that is designed as a leadership training for Hispanics and an introduction to the University.

Currently he lives in a two story tar shingled house with eight other people, including his parents, 4 brothers, one sister, and various in-laws. His father works on an apple cider farm near Iowa City. His father is an "international trader" in used goods, both locally and across the border.

The following interview captures Pedro's views of school and his plans for the future.

I: What kind of classes did you take in Mexico?
P: Well, regular. Natural science, mathematics, Spanish, English...

I: Where was the school?
P: Near Eagle Pass, Texas.

I: How big was the school?
P: It was a small town, about 20 students per class.

I: Did you have one teacher per grade?
P: In 6th grade I had one teacher for the class. In seventh grade different teachers would come into the class.

I: What did the people do in the area for a living?
P: There were farmers and some factory workers, mining, and some had stores. A nice town, not much.

I: What did your parents do when they returned to Mexico?
P: They started selling stuff, you know, any kind of stuff. My dad bought stuff from Texas and took it over there, and they started buying stuff so he started bringing more stuff. And sometimes he does that when he leaves from here, he takes a truck full of stuff, tires. (Outside the house was parked his father's pickup, filled with some type of wood furniture.)

I: Were the students serious?
P: Well yeah, its like here. Some took it serious, some were just playing around. It depends on who it is.

I: Did people plan on going to the US to get better jobs and then return to Mexico?

P: The probably thought they were going to make their lives in Mexico.

I: Did the school have a program in sports?
P: They had basketball, and bands. On the Cinco de Mayo they had the Marching band. Everybody wore a uniform every day. I didn't like it.

I: Did you have a library at the school?
P: We used the town library.

I: Do you sometimes see a difference between the facts taught in Mexican schools with American schools?
P: I think the facts are about the same.

I: Have your parents had a big influence on your education? Have they always encouraged you to do that?
P: No, not really. They want me to continue, but they don't really encourage me.

I: How many years of school do they have?
P: Two years.

I: Can they read and write?
P: Spanish only.

I: What are your older brothers who graduated doing now?
P: One is working in Columbus and the other at Lewis Rich. He is a kind of manager who uses Spanish.

I: What are your career plans?
P: I have a cousin that went to Hamilton college, and he is an engineer. That's what I want to be, an engineer.

I: Do you think that high school here is serving your educational needs?
P: No I don't think so.

I: What could be different?
P: If you like a career, and you know you wanted to join that then they should teach more toward that.

I: Which school system do you like better?
P: The one's over here.

I: Why?
P: They teach a little bit better. That's probably about it.

I: What are you learning?

P: (laughs) English. How to make stuff in wood shop. Learning geometry.

I: Are you a permanent resident?
P: In June or July. We applied for something.

I: Where is this community going? Do you see a future in the community?
P: I think its going to stay the same all the time. Small and simple.

I: What do most people your age think about doing after they graduate?
P: Most think about staying here. Most of them say they want to leave or go to college, but I don't think so.

I: Do you detect any conflicts between newcomers and Anglo natives?
P: No, they got used to us.

I: Do most of the Anglo students plan on staying in town?
P: Most of them say they want to leave their house.

I: Do you think that could be a difference in cultures, with Mexicans more family oriented, and Anglos more independent?
P: Probably. I think it is.

I: If there was one thing you could say to the world now, what would it be?
P: Probably talk about the world, to keep it nice and be peaceful, so all the people not fight. No gangs, no drugs.

I: Word association. When you think of the Rio Grande, what comes to your mind? (His dad walks in, we are introduced in Spanish)
P: Two countries. People coming to both sides. Well, I don't know, that's about all.

I: Is there a strong division between these two countries?
P: I think it will be the same latter on.

I: Do you mean that the cultures will mix eventually?
P: Yeah.

Pedro has clear goals that require a successful academic career. He seems confident in his abilities. As mentioned above, the educational system in Mexico demoted him one year because they were not sure if his Spanish language abilities would allow him to be successful. Pedro thus has experienced both positive and negative aspects of both the Mexican and Iowan' school systems, yet clearly he views the system as a means to achieve his career goals. His goals seem to have been formed to a large degree without the direct influence of his parents. His older brother, an engineer, serves as a model.

Each of the three Mexican-American students has a completely different background and life experience. Beto is from Texas and is now in the military, Flora graduated from a Mexican high school and is seeking permanent residence, and Pedro has a binational background. Three very different people that all want a part of the American Dream, and are willing to sacrifice and work to achieve their dreams. Their success in that endeavor is impossible to predict, but is clear that in spite of numerous obstacles each of them views schooling as a legitimate means to help them achieve their goals.

The survey instrument and in depth interviews failed to establish a clear support for either of the hypotheses of cultural-discontinuity (Trueba) or cultural-ecology (Ogbu). Understanding the goals of the Mexican-American students and the conditions in West Liberty at this time are perhaps the keys to understanding the students' academic achievements.

The findings that second generation students had lower acculturation trait scores than first generation students supports both the theories of Trueba and Ogbu. The findings that show second generation students continuing to have high ethnic identity trait scores support Ogbu. The finding that the GPAs of the second generation is virtually identical to first generation students supports neither theory. The in depth interviews seem to indicate that an extremely broad range of Mexican-American students can view schooling as important, even if the students are not high achievers in the scholastic sense or have middle class backgrounds.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Review

This study examined the relationship between acculturation and ethnic identity traits possessed by first and second generation Mexican-American high school students and their grade point averages. Culture was viewed as learned. It is a process involving interaction with all aspects of the environment (Spindlers 1987, 1990).

Acculturation is a process involving the loss of certain cultural traits and the acceptance of new traits (Keefe & Padilla 1987). Keefe and Padilla assume that in a pluralistic society, such as found in the United States, acculturation and ethnic identity are separate processes (Padilla 1980; Keefe & Padilla 1987). According to Padilla's (1980) model of ethnicity, a pluralistic society may foster ethnic-group identities. The higher the perceived discrimination in the society the more likely it will be for individuals to develop a loyalty toward a supportive ethnic group.

Acculturation may take place without assimilation. Assimilation, defined earlier as social, economic, and political integration into mainstream society, requires that those people and institutions already in power provide access.

A review of the statistics concerning Mexican-American academic performance reveals that, as a group, they have the lowest academic attainment of any minority group in this country (NCLR 1990). Only 49.8 percent of Mexican-American individuals in the 25 to 34 year-old age group have completed high school, and only 6.1 percent of Mexican-Americans have four or more years of college.

Two major theoretical perspectives developed to explain minority student academic success or failure have been presented in this study. The first theory, cultural discontinuity theory, endorsed by Trueba, claims that poor school performance originates from inappropriate teacher/student interaction patterns. According to Trueba, the primary mode of interaction is language. Trueba supports the view that language use and cognitive development are connected. He claims that the average middle-class teacher may be unaware of the students' learned cultural endorsed behavior and learning patterns. This discontinuity can lead to a breakdown in the classroom learning process; failure and dropping out may ensue.

The second theory, cultural-ecological theory, developed and promoted by Ogbu, has as its central features the concepts of "castelike minorities" and "oppositional collective identity." According to Ogbu, the castelike minorities develop an oppositional frame of reference based upon the realization that in spite of the success of a few individuals, the dominate group historically and currently excludes them from full assimilation. The oppositional frame of reference includes a distrust of the dominate culture's institutions and the cultural values they espouse. Thus, school success or failure must be considered within the social, economic, and political context of that society.

Success or Failure: Theoretical Paradigms

An important feature of minority academic performance cited by Ogbu (1990) is that castelike minority academic performance shows a pattern of underachievement when compared to Anglo performance. This study did not thoroughly investigate Anglo performance, but based upon class rank, there are mixed results. The sophomore class has a percentile ranking of 64, the junior class percentile ranking is 25, and the seniors' percentile ranking in 35. There does appear to be underachievement in the junior and senior classes. The degree of its significance in supporting a thesis of castelike oppositional frames of reference, in this study, is questionable. On the other hand, it may be that the lower middle class status of the student's families makes the students the "individual exceptions" to the collective identity, as delineated by Ogbu (1987, 1990).

Trueba's perspective does not gain much support from the evidence either. The second generation is not performing significantly better than the first generation. While there is an ESL program for first generation students, it is not exclusively designed for Spanish speakers. There are Vietnamese and Laotians in the program. There are some classes that target the Spanish speakers, such as the Spanish for Spanish speakers program. These classes emphasize the merits of Hispanic culture. It could be, as found by Vazquez (1990), that students who have taken some type of ethnic studies program that portrays their ethnic affiliation in a positive light perform better academically.

Trueba (1987) claims that reducing the cultural dissonance between teacher and student is integral to the success of the student. At West Liberty High, with the exception of one of the ESL teachers, none of the teachers or administrators at the school was Hispanic. Only the one ESL teacher and the Spanish foreign language instructors spoke Spanish. Some of the students reported that the Spanish the instructors spoke was clearly not what they were accustomed to hearing. No special cultural training was evident on the part of the teachers. The researcher never heard the teachers speak in a derogatory manner about

Mexican students as a group. Perhaps a strong sense of community and availability of support classes such as ESL and Spanish for Spanish speakers provides the necessary motivational and psychological support needed for these students to be successful.

The real significance of the findings is a lack of relationship between any of the variables and student academic success. The findings do demonstrate that these Mexican-American students are acculturating and that they continue to maintain a strong ethnic identity. This replicates studies by Padilla (1987) that show acculturation to a complex multidimensional process.

Cultural features, as measured by this research, seem to not have a negative influence on academic performance. This is not an insignificant finding. Too often Mexican American students are viewed as having cultural deficiencies; something in the home, or background values may be accused of preventing academic success (Vasquez 1982). "Culture" may serve to detract the educator from viewing the individual as an active participant in defining reality (Aguilar & Vallejo 1984). Studies have shown that ethnic biases may influence the labeling of minority children more frequently into problem categories (Juarez 1981). Tomlinson (1991) suggest that the school a student attends is a larger factor in determining academic performance than ethnicity. This study has demonstrated that acculturation and ethnic identity traits alone do not inhibit or necessarily enhance student academic performance.

With results as ambiguous as found in this study, one is tempted to declare that neither minority educational theory is applicable to the West Liberty situation, yet perhaps both are applicable in part. Trueba (1988) speaks about the importance of peer socialization as a major factor to be considered in developing dropout prevention programs. Ogbu (1986, 1990) speaks of the importance that identity, and of being a part of a group, plays in determining the perceptions a student has towards school. The pressure to not "act white" stands in the way of academic success for some minorities (Fordam and Ogbu 1986; Gregory 1992). Culture, as learned, is not static (Spindler and Spindler 1990). Individuals can and do choose to adopt cultural traits. The Spindlers' definition of culture recognizes the important role that interaction plays in developing culture within an individual. No group is homogeneous. Mexican-Americans may view themselves as recent immigrants, or consider themselves to have roots in this country going back many generations. Keefe and Padilla (1987) recommend that within group research on acculturation and ethnicity is important. Individuals may share some cultural traits, but have considerably different perceptions of their position and power within this society.

Ogbu's typology is criticized by Trueba (1987, 1988, 1990) as resulting in a stereotyping of minority students. Trueba's theory is criticized by Ogbu (1987) as over emphasizing the role that language development can play in the academic performance of minority students, and ignoring the effect of historical job stratification on the psychology of student motivation and achievement. Neither theory alone is sufficient to explain the findings of this study. Likewise, the researcher believes that both can be viewed as necessary components for explaining the academic success of any group. The motivation to succeed in school cannot be long divorced from economic or cultural rewards offered outside of the academic environment. At the same time school programs must be designed to effectively develop the cognitive skills of students. As Fetterman (1989) has stated, arguments that suggest that one approach is better than the other are misleading, because the approaches of cultural discontinuity and cultural ecology address the same problems at different levels. Ogbu uses a macro analysis that can miss important local and individual variations, though he does not deny that some individuals will succeed. Trueba's focus on the successful performance of minority individuals through a well designed curriculum may reduce the percentage of dropouts in select locations, but does nothing to address the primary motivating elements for success in school, its relevance to the student's life at present or in the future.

The cultural ties linking individuals may have a strong ethnic component. Ethnicity in our society often involves economic and political stratification (Acuña 1988; Foley 1990; Ogbu 1987; Rosenbaum 1981; San Miguel 1984). Keefe & Padilla (1987), propose that a pluralistic society, such as found in the United States, may in fact foster ethnicity. In West Liberty, blue collar employment is available for students and adults through the turkey processing plant. Minorities fill the majority of those positions. The high school, while old and in need of physical repair, is not overcrowded and has modern equipment available. Relatively new elementary and middle schools exist in the community, and there are minority programs in place in the schools. This situation of available employment, coupled with a reasonably high standard of academic expectations throughout the school system could be more significant for determining academic success than any cultural or ethnic factors measured.

Indeed, if we are defining culture as a process involving interaction with the environment, one would need to acknowledge the economic and social setting as an integral part of the environment of the Mexican-Americans in West Liberty. The relative economic success of the Mexican-American community in West Liberty may be the pivotal element in swinging minority academic performance from failure to success. Certainly these factors must shape, to some extent, the degree to which the students are willing to participate in the mainstream social system.

Future Research

The recommendations developed from this study need to be considered in view of the limitations of the study stated in Chapter I. Based upon this study, one can not automatically assume that there is a significant "culture of resistance" among Mexican-American students in West Liberty, or elsewhere. Future studies that wish to investigate this phenomena need to address the psychological makeup of the students involved. Comparative studies of acculturation and ethnic identity traits would be useful, but environmental factors, such as employment availability or urban versus small town settings, that are not measured directly by such scales, must be considered.

The findings indicate that the culture of Mexican-American students does not have a negative effect upon the students. If students are failing, educators and policy makers may need to consider additional causes, including teacher misconceptions, or the effects of poverty and transience on academic and social performance.

In recognition of the growing minority populations in rural and small towns in the Midwest, it would be useful for educators, administrators, and policy makers to encourage further research into minority academic performance in rural and small town settings. A cohesive and through body of literature on high school academic performance in the rural Midwest does not exist. Most research and statistics generated about Mexican-Americans comes from California and Texas. Those states have a history and economy vastly different from Iowa and the Midwest. Perhaps Mexican immigrants to Iowa have motivations that are different than those who settle in the Southwest, or perhaps the history of Iowa, having never been a part of Mexico, provides for a different psychological perspective with which individuals might view their opportunities.

Future research on minority academic performance should investigate the attitudes and perceptions held by students about future career and schooling options. This research project has indicated that acculturation and ethnic identity traits alone do not provide a definitive guide for predicting academic achievement. Finding a reliable means to investigate attitudes and perceptions is problematic. While a survey questionnaire can be of value, it may not reveal the complexities of an individual's background or present life circumstances. Ethnographic techniques, such as open-ended interviews and participant observation are necessary to increase the researcher's knowledge of the individual participants.

In addition to investigating individual perceptions and attitudes, cultural studies demand an investigation of the environment. Assuming that culture is the result of interactions between individuals and their environment, and assuming that schools are cultural institutions that reproduce and create cultural artifacts both in terms of knowledge and students, then social, economic, political, and ecological issues are critical to a complete evaluation. In this regard, research should be done in a variety of locations. Within the same community different neighborhoods should be compared. Communities in different regions of the United States should be compared.

It seems that research of this type is limited in terms of scope and time. The scope of one's population is a constantly changing variable. Concerns and events of concern for one generation or one location may mean little for another generation or location.

Future research, while recognizing the broad social categories of ethnicity and class, may better serve students and professional educators if it considers local and regional influences. The history of an area, the types and quality of schools in an area, and the types and qualities of career opportunity in an area may be more informative and more meaningful than speaking about the ethnic elements of a region.

In conclusion, the theories of Trueba and Ogbu need to be combined to help explain educational success and failure. Castelike resistance is probably not limited to castelike minorities who have a history of forced incorporation into the United States' economic and political system. The barbs of prejudice and discrimination, however, may be felt most acutely by certain identifiable groups in our society. On the other hand, while acknowledging that prejudice and discrimination do exist, Trueba's design of a school curriculum that attempts of be "child centered" in terms of cultural background seems naive. No curriculum by itself will lift the burden placed upon students by years of economic hardship and social prejudice.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY QUESTIONS, ENGLISH VERSION

Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Traits
(Adapted from Keefe and Padilla 1987)

All responses will be kept confidential

I. Respondent's Language Preference
  A. Respondent's (R) language preference in personal situations.
    1. Do you prefer to speak in Spanish or English? Responses: English; no preference; Spanish.
    2. Do you prefer to read in Spanish or English?
    3. Do you prefer to write in Spanish or English?
    4. Do you prefer reading Spanish or English newspapers and magazines?
    5. Do you prefer listening to Spanish or to English radio stations?
    6. Do you prefer watching Spanish or English television stations?
    7. Do you prefer going to Spanish or to English movies?

  B. R's language choice in situations dealing with other people
    1. What language is spoken at your family gatherings, such as Christmas time?
    2. What language do you use with most of your friends?
    3. What language do you use when you are talking about a personal or emotional problem with a relative?
    4. What language do you use when you are angry?
    5. Do (did) you speak to your father mainly in Spanish or in English? Responses: English; both; Spanish.
    6. Do (did) you speak to your mother mainly in Spanish or English?
    7. Do you speak to your spouse mainly in Spanish or in English?
    8. Language questionnaire used? Responses: English, Spanish.

9. Question to be answered by interviewer: Was the interview taken in (1) only English; (2) mostly English, some Spanish; (3) Spanish and English equally; (4) mostly Spanish, some English; (5) only Spanish?

C. R's preferred first name and children's first names
   1. What first name do you prefer to go by? Responses: English spelling; same spelling in English and Spanish; Spanish spelling?

II. Respondent's Cultural Heritage
   A. R's cultural inheritance and contact
      1. If born in Mexico, at what age did you move permanently to the U.S.?
      2. How many years have you lived in the U.S.?
      3. If born in the U.S., have you lived in Mexico? Response: yes, no.
      4. Did you attend school in Mexico?
      5. How many years did you attend school in Mexico?
      6. Did you attend school in the U.S.?
      7. How many years did you attend school in the U.S.?
      8. Have you ever visited Mexico beyond the border cities (including Ensenada, Tijuana, Mexicali, and others)? Responses: yes, no.
      9. How many times have you visited Mexico beyond the border cities in the last five years?

   B. R's language familiarity
      1. Do you speak Spanish? Response: yes, no.
      2. Would you say your ability to speak Spanish is fair, good, or excellent?
      3. Do you carry on conversations in Spanish every day? Response: yes, no.
      4. Did you learn to speak Spanish at home or at school? Response: home, home and school, school.
      5. Can you understand Spanish when it is spoken? Response: yes, no.
      6. Can you read Spanish?
      7. Can you write in Spanish?
      8. Do you speak English? yes, no.
      9. Would you say your ability to speak English is fair, good, or excellent?
      10. Do you carry on conversations in English every day?
      11. Did you learn to speak English at home or at school?
      12. Can you understand English when it is spoken? Response yes, no.
      13. Can you read English?

14. Can you write English?

C. R's knowledge of Mexican cultural symbols, historic events, and contemporary personalities.
  1. Who is the current president of Mexico?
  2. Who is Pedro Infante (Mexican singer)?
  3. Who is José Mojica (Mexican singer)?
  4. Who was Diego Rivera (Mexican artist)?
  5. Is the following statement true or false: Los Niños Heroes de Chapultepec defended the Mexican flag against American invaders. Response: true, false.
  6. Can you identify this picture? (Chichinitza)
  7. Can you identify this picture? (Benito Júarez)

D. Ethnicity of peers during childhood and adolescence
  1. Were the children in your grade school mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent? Responses: Anglo or other; both; Mexican.
  2. Were your friends in grade school mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent?
  3. As a teenager, were your neighborhood friends mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent?

III. Parent's Cultural Heritage

A. Parents' ethnic identification
  1. Given a list of group names, what does (did) your father think of himself as? Responses: American; Spanish American; Latino; American of Mexican Descent; Mexican American; Chicano; Mexican or *mexicano*.
  2. What does (did) your mother think of herself as?

B. Parents' language familiarity and usage
  1. Does (did) your father speak Spanish? Responses: yes, no
  2. Does (did) your father carry on conversations in Spanish every day?
  3. Does (did) your father speak English?
  4. Does (did) your father carry on conversations in English every day?
  5. Does (did) your father prefer to speak in Spanish or English? Responses: English, Spanish, no preference
  6. Does (did) your mother speak Spanish?
  7. Does (did) your mother carry on conversations in Spanish every day?
  8. Does (did) your mother speak English?
  9. Does (did) your mother carry on conversations in English every day?

10. Does (did) your mother prefer to speak in English or Spanish?

C. Parents' cultural inheritance and contact
    1. If born in Mexico, at what age did your father move permanently to the U.S.?
    2. If born in Mexico, at what age did your mother move permanently to the U.S.?

IV. Cultural Identification
A. Perception of Mexico and U.S.
    1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: A person has a better chance of getting ahead in the U.S. than in Mexico. Responses: strongly agree to strongly disagree.
    2. In Mexico the people are friendlier than in the United States.
    3. There is more discrimination in the U.S. than in Mexico.
    4. I think a child growing up in the U.S. is luckier than a child growing up in Mexico.

B. R's identification with a group name
    1. Given a list of group names, what do you think of yourself as, at the present time? Responses: American; Spanish American; Latino; American of Mexican descent; Mexican American; Chicano; Mexican or *mexicano*.
    2. Ten years ago, what did you think of yourself as?
    3. As a child, what did you think of yourself as?
    4. How would you prefer to be known, at the present time, by other people of Mexican descent?
    5. How would you prefer to be known by Anglos?
    6. How would you prefer to be known by Mexican people if you were traveling in Mexico?

C. Preference for traveling in Mexico
    1. If you could take a trip, would you rather travel to Mexico or in the U.S.?

V. Ethnic Social Orientation
A. Ethnicity of associates at the present time
    1. At the present time, are your friends mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent?
    2. Are your neighbors mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent?
    3. Are the people at the places where you go to have fun and to relax (at parties, dances, picnics) mostly of Mexican or Anglo descent?

4. What is the name of the church you attend? Responses: Catholic, Protestant

B. Preference for and consumption of Mexican food
   1. Do you usually eat Mexican food at least once a day? Response: yes, no
   2. Do you prefer to eat Mexican or American food? Responses: Mexican, no preference, American
   3. Do you prefer to eat *tortillas* or sliced bread?
   4. Do you prefer using *salsa de chile* or catsup on your food?
   5. Do you usually eat Mexican food (such as *tamales, buñuelos, or mole*) on holidays? Response: yes, no.
   6. Does the person who cooks in your household usually make his/her own salsa?
   7. Does the person who cooks in your household usually make his/her own tortillas?
   8. Does the person who cooks in your household usually make his/her own mole?
   9. Does the person who cooks in your household usually make his/her own tamales?
   10. Does the person who cooks in your household usually make his/her own menudo?

VI. Ethnic Pride and Affiliation
   A. Perception of Mexican Culture
      1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: Children of Mexican descent should learn about Mexican history in American schools. Responses: strongly agree to strongly disagree.
      2. The best music is Mexican music.
      3. The most delicious food is Mexican food.

   B. Preference for ethnicity of associates
      1. Would you rather eat at a restaurant where most of the people are Mexicans than at a restaurant where most people are Anglos? Responses: yes or no.
      2. Would you rather go to a party where most of the people are of Mexican descent?
      3. Would you rather live in a neighborhood where most of the residents are of Mexican descent?
      4. Would you rather have the members of your family marry only people of Mexican descent?

VII. Perceived Discrimination
   A. Perceived personal discrimination
      1. Have you ever found it difficult to get a job or a promotion because you are of Mexican descent? Yes, no.

2. Have you ever been treated rudely or been given poor service in a store or restaurant because you are of Mexican descent?
3. Are there any other ways in which you feel you have been discriminated against because you are of Mexican descent?

B. Perceived group discrimination

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement: Many employers in this town often refuse to hire a person just because that person is of Mexican descent. Responses: strongly agree to disagree.
2. Most teachers in the schools here pay more attention to the Anglo children than to the children of Mexican descent.
3. People who work for public agencies in this town (like welfare, social security, and health clinics) are more concerned about the Anglos than the Mexican Americans.
4. In this town, people of Mexican descent have to work a lot harder to get ahead than Anglos.
5. The police do not respect people of Mexican descent as much as they do Anglos.
6. Most people of Mexican descent are suspected of being illegal aliens by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

VIII. Self Perception

1. What are your plans, after you graduate from school?
2. How would you describe yourself as a student? (Excellent, good, fair)
3. What is your grade level in school? (10, 11, 12)
4. What gender is this student?
5. May I have your permission to receive your official GPA from the school records? This information will be kept confidential.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONS, SPANISH VERSION

Cuestionario sobre identidad cultural y étnica

I. Preferencia Idiomática
  A. Preferencia Idiomática del estudiante en situaciones personales.
    1. ¿Prefieres hablar español o inglés?
    2. ¿Prefieres leer en español o en inglés?
    3. ¿Prefieres escribir en español o en inglés?
    4. ¿Prefieres leer revistas y periódicos en español o en inglés?
    5. ¿Prefieres escuchar programas radiofónicos en español o en inglés?
    6. ¿Prefieres mirar televisión en español o en inglés?
    7. ¿Prefieres ver películas en español o en inglés?

  B. Preferencia Idiomática al interactuar con otras personas.
    1. ¿Qué idioma se habla cuando tu familia se reune? (Navidad, Cumpleaños. etc.)
    2. ¿Qué idioma usas para hablar con tus amigos?
    3. ¿Qué idioma usas para hablar con tus parientes de un problema emocional o personal?
    4. ¿Qué idioma usas cuando estás enojado?
    5. ¿Hablas a tu padre principalmente en español o en inglés? Respuestas: español, inglés, o ambos.
    6. ¿Hablas a tu madre principalmente en español o en inglés?
    7. ¿Hablas a tu novio principalmente en español o inglés?
    8. ¿Qué idioma usó en el cuestionario? (Español o Inglés)
    9. Pregunta para el entrevistador: ¿La entrevista, estuvo hecha principalmente en español o en inglés?

  C. Nombre preferido.
    1. ¿Prefieres usar un nombre español o uno en inglés?

II. Herencia cultural del estudiante

A. Herencia cultural y contacto.

1. ¿Si naciste en México, qué edad tenías cuando te viniste definitivamente a E.E.U.U.?
2. ¿Cuántos años has vivido en E.E.U.U.?
3. ¿Si naciste en E.E.U.U., has vivido en México?
4. ¿Has estado yendo al colegio en México?
5. ¿Cuántos años has estado yendo al colegio en México?
6. ¿Has estado yendo a la escuela en E.E.U.U.?
7. ¿Cuántos años has estado yendo al colegio en E.E.U.U.?
8. ¿Has visitado México fuera de las ciudades fronterizas? (incluyendo Ensenada, Tijuana, Mexicali, y otras)
9. ¿Cuántas veces has visitado México fuera de las ciudades fronterizas en los cinco años pasado?

B. Familiaridad Idiomática

1. ¿Hablas español?
2. ¿Dirías tú que tu habilidad para hablar español es razonable, buena o excelente?
3. ¿Hablas español cada día?
4. ¿Aprendistes a hablar español en casa o en la escuela?
5. ¿Entiendes cuando alguien habla español?
6. ¿Puedes leer en español?
7. ¿Puedes escribir en español?
8. ¿Hablas inglés?
9. ¿Dirías tú que tu habilidad para hablar inglés es razonable, buena o excelente?
10. ¿Hablas inglés cada día?
11. ¿Aprendistes a hablar inglés en casa o en la escuela?
12. ¿Entiendes cuando alguien habla inglés?
13. ¿Puedes leer en inglés?
14. ¿Puedes escribir en inglés?

C. Conocimiento de símbolos culturales Mejicanos, eventos históricos, y personajes modernos.

1. ¿Quién es el presidente de México hoy?
2. ¿Quién es Pedro Infante?
3. ¿Quién es José Mojica?
4. ¿Quién fue Diego Rivera?
5. Verdadero o falso. Los Niños Heroes de Chapultepec defendieron la bandera de México contra invasores norteaméricanos.
6. ¿Puedes identificar esta fotografía? (Chichinitza)
7. ¿Puedes identificar esta fotografía? (Benito Júarez)

D. Origen étnico del grupo de amigos.
   1. ¿Eran la mayoría de tus compañeros en la preparatoria de origen mejicano o anglo?
   2. ¿Eran la mayoría de tus amigos en la preparatoria de orígen mejicano o anglo?
   3. Cómo adolescente, ¿es la mayoría de tus amigos de orígen mejicano o anglo?

III. Herencia cultural de los padres.
   A. Identificación étnica de los padres.
      1. Dada la siguiente lista de grupos, ¿a cuál grupo piensas tú que tu padre corresponde? Americano; Latino; México-americano; Americano de ascendencia mexicana; Chicano; Mejicano.
      2. ¿A cuál piensas que tu madre corresponde?

   B. Idiomática de los padres.
      1. ¿Tu padre habla español?
      2. ¿Tu padre habla español cada día?
      3. ¿Tu padre habla inglés?
      4. ¿Tu padre habla inglés cada día?
      5. ¿Tu padre prefiere hablar español o inglés?
      6. ¿Tu madre habla español?
      7. ¿Tu madre habla español cada día?
      8. ¿Tu madre habla inglés?
      9. ¿Tu madre habla inglés cada día?
      10. ¿Tu madre prefiere hablar español o inglés?

   C. Contacto cultural de los padres
      1. ¿Si nació en México, a que edad tu padre emigro permanente a E.E.U.U?
      2. ¿Si nació en México, a que edad tu madre emigro permanente a E.E.U.U?

IV. Percepción cultural.
   A. Percepción cultural de México y de E.E.U.U.
      1. Acordar o diferir. Un persona tiene más oportunidad de éxito en los Estados Unidos que en México?
      2. ¿Son los mejicanos más amistosos que los americanos?
      3. ¿Hay más discriminación en E.E.U.U. que en México?
      4. Pienso que un niño que creció en E.E.U.U. tiene más suerte que un niño que creció en México.

   B. Identificación étnica
      1. ¿A cuál de los grupos arriba dados crees tú corresponder?

Americano; Latino; México-americano; Americano de ascendencia mexicana; Chicano; Mejicano.
2. ¿Diez años atras, que pensabas tu al respecto?
3. ¿Cómo niño, que pensarías tu al respecto?
4. ¿Cómo preferías ser identificado, en tiempo actual, por descendientes mejicanos?
5. ¿Cómo preferías ser identificado por anglos?
6. ¿Cómo preferías ser identificado por personas Mejicanas, si viajas a México?

C. Preferencias para viajar a México
1. ¿Si puedes tomar un viaje, preferías viajar a México o en E.E.U.U.?

V. Orientación Social.
A. Origen étnico de los grupos de interacción.
1. ¿Son la mayoría de tus actuales amigos de origen mejicano o anglo?
2. ¿Son la mayoría de tus vecinos de orígen mejicano o anglo?
3. ¿Son la mayoría de las personas, en los lugares donde te diviertes, de orígen mejicano o anglo?
4. ¿Cuál es la denominación de tu iglesia? (Católica, o Protestante)

B. Preferencia por y consumo de comida Mejicana
1. ¿Generalmente tú comes comida Mejicana al menos una vez por día?
2. ¿Preferías comer comida Mejicana o Americana?
3. ¿Prefieres comer *tortillas* o pan rebanado?
4. ¿Prefieres usar *salsa de chile* o 'catsup' en tu comida?
5. ¿Generalmente tú comes comida Mejicana en días de fiesta? (como tamales buñuelos, o mole)
6. ¿La persona quien cocina en tu familia, generalmente hace su propia salsa?
7. ¿La persona quien cocina en tu familia, generalmente hace sus propias tortillas?
8. ¿La persona quien cocina en tu familia, generalmente hace su propio mole?
9. ¿La persona quien cocina en tu familia, generalmente hace sus propios tamales?
10. ¿La persona quien cocina en tu familia, generalmente hace su propio menudo?

VI. Afiliación y orgullo étnico.
A. Percepción de la cultura Mejicana

1. Acordar o diferir. Niños de descendencia Mejicana deberían estudiar historia Mejicano en escuelas norteaméricanas.
2. La mejor música es la música Mejicana.
3. La mejor comida es la comida Mejicana.

B. Preferencia por un orígen étnico en los grupos de interacción.
   1. ¿Prefieres comer en un restaurante donde la mayoría de la gente es de orígen mejicano o anglo?
   2. ¿Prefieres ir a una fiesta donde la mayoría de la gente es de orígen mejicano?
   3. ¿Prefieres vivir en un barrio en donde la mayoría de los residentes son mejicanos?
   4. ¿Prefieres casarte con personas de linaje mejicano?

VII. Percepción de la discriminación.

A. Discriminación personal
   1. ¿Alguna vez has tenido dificultad para obtener trabajo o promoción por el hecho de ser de orígen mejicano?
   2. ¿Alguna vez te han tratado mal o no te han atendido bien por el hecho de ser de orígen mejicano?
   3. ¿Hay otros modos que tu has sentido favoritismos en discriminación contra ti por el hecho de ser de orígen mejicano?

B. Discriminación grupal
   1. Acordar o diferir. ¿Los patrones en este pueblo no dan empleo a un persona de orígen mejicano?
   2. ¿Se preocupan los profesores en el colegio más de los alumnos de orígen anglo que de los de orígen mejicano.
   3. ¿La gente que trabaja en servicios públicos están más interesados en los anglos que en los Chicanos?
   4. ¿Tiene la gente de orígen mejicano, en este pueblo, que trabajar más que los de orígen anglo para salir adelante?
   5. ¿La policía no respeta gente de orígen mejicano tanto como a los anglos?
   6. La mayoría de la gente mejicano son sospechosos de ser extranjeros ilegales de la I.N.S.

VIII. A. Auto Imagen.
   1. ¿Cuáles son tus planes para cuando te gradues de la escuela?
   2. ¿Cómo te describirías como estudiante?

Excelente, Regular, Mediocre.
3. ¿Qué grado estas atendiendo en está escuela? (10,11,12)
4. (Ojo para el entrevistador) ¿De qué sexo es este estudiante?
5. ¿Podrías tener tú permiso para obtener información oficial acerca de tus calificaciones escolares (GPA)? La información que usted nos de será mantenida confidencialmente. (Ojo, obtenga la firma.)

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORMS

Consent Form, English Version

Dear Parent or Guardian: 10/16/1990

We are writing to request your permission for your child to participate in a research project titled "Cultural and Ethnic Awareness" that we are conducting at West Liberty Jr/Sr High School. Listed below are several aspects of the project you need to know prior to your consent:

1. The purpose of this study is to gather some information from students about their perceptions of education and culture.

2. Participation is voluntary and your child may withdraw from the study at any time.

3. All information collected will be confidential.

4. The project has been reviewed and approved by officials at your child's school, the appropriate Human Subjects Review Committee and Cooperating Schools Program at The University of Iowa. This information request complies with the Iowa Fair Information Practices Act. Information about the University of Iowa policy regarding the issue of human subjects in research can be obtained by contacting the Office of the Vice President for Educational Development and Research, 201 Gilmore Hall, (319) 335-2141.

We will be extremely pleased if you grant permission for your child to participate in the project. If you give consent, please sign and date the slip on the attached page and have your child return it to the school tomorrow. In the meantime, should you have any questions please feel free to call me.

Sincerely,

George Iber
Social Foundations of Education The University of Iowa

Letter of Consent, Spanish Version

Octobre 16, 1990

Estimado padre o apoderado:

Por medio de esta carta nos permitimos solicitar su permiso para que su hijo/a o pupilo/a participe en un proyecto de investigación titulado "Percepción Cultural y Étnica", el cual será llevado a cabo en West Liberty Jr/Sr High School.

A continuación le entregamos información sobre algunos aspectos de nuestro proyecto, los cuales deben ser conocidos por usted antes de dar su aprobación:

1. El propósito de este estudio es recolectar información acerca de la percepción que tienen los estudiantes sobre la educación y la cultura.

2. La participación es voluntaria y su hijo/a no sera retirado de sus clases en momento alguno.

3. La información recibida sera estrictamente confidencial.

4. El proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por los directivos del colegio de su hijo/a, The Human Subjects Review Committee y The Cooperating Schools Program de la Universidad de Iowa. Nuestra solicitud de información esta de acuerdo con The Iowa Fair Information Practices Act. Información acerca de las regulaciones de la Universidad de Iowa en el uso de personas para la investigación puede ser obtenida llamando a la oficina del vicepresidente de desarrollo educacional e investigación, 201 Gilmore Hall, (319) 335-2141.

Si usted no tiene inconveniente en que su hijo/a participe en este estudio, por favor firme y escriba la fecha en la pagina adjunta y envíela con su hijo/a a la escuela mañana. Si tiene usted alguna pregunta, por favor llámenos.

Dándole las gracias de antemano, se despiden atentamente,

George Iber
Social Foundations of Education
University of Iowa
353-4873

Acceptance Form

Formulario de Aceptación

Título del Projecto: Percepción Cultural y Étnica.
Profesor Responsable: David Bills.
Estudiante Graduado Investigador: George Iber
Departamento: Foundations, Postsecondary and Continuing Education.

Nombre del Estudiante:_______________________________________

Mi hijo/a ____puede participar ____no puede participar

Yo he leído y entendido la carta adjunta. También entiendo que esta solicitud de información está en acuerdo con, Iowa Fair Information Practices Act.

Su nombre (use letra de molde)_____________________________

Su firma _______________________________________

Fecha _______________________________________

Por Favor Devuelva para Octobre 25. Gracias

****

Parent Consent Form

Project Title: Cultural and Ethnic Awareness
Responsible Faculty Member: David Bills
Graduate Student Researcher: George Iber
Department: Foundations, Postsecondary and Continuing Education

Student's Name: _____________________________

My child ____ may participate ____ may not participate

I have read and understand the attached letter. I understand that this information request complies with the Iowa Information Practices Act.

Your Name (please print) ____________________________

Your Signature __________________________________

Date __________________________

Please Return By October 25 Thank you

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